VIKRAMĀDITYA
OF
UJJAYINĪ

[THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA]

Raj Bali Pandey

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VIKRAMĀDITYA
OF
UJJAYINĪ

अविश्रामोऽयं लोकतन्त्राधिकारः ।

[The right of public administration does
not admit of any repose]

— Kālidāsa, Śākuntalaṁ V.

954.01

VIKRAMĀDITYA
OF
UJJAYINĪ

[THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA]

BY

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FOREWORD

About forty years ago, I submitted a thesis for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship of the Calcutta University, in which I discussed in some detail the problem of *Vikramāditya.* I maintained in this thesis that there were not sufficient grounds for the almost universal belief that king *Vikramāditya,* the reputed founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat, was a myth; that though the existing evidence did not warrant his definite acceptance as an historical character, the positive grounds on which such claim was rejected did not carry conviction; and that the only reasonable course in such a case was to keep an open mind and look for further evidence on the subject. Dr. G. Thibaut, who examined my thesis, sent for me, and said he was amazed at my boldness in suggesting that *Vikramāditya* might be an historical person. I was no less amazed when he recommended me for the scholarship with the remark that I deserved it not for, but in spite of, my views about *Vikramāditya,* on account of the method of treatment of the whole subject.

The attitude of Dr. Thibaut may be regarded as typical of many other scholars both great and small, of old and modern times. Indeed it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that at the time when I wrote the thesis, and for many years afterwards, a scholar would risk his reputation if he even remotely hinted at the possibility that there was a King *Vikramāditya* in 57 B.C. I have often wondered at this solid unanimity on *Vikramāditya*-myth in face of the well-known fact that so many historical figures of ancient India, who were unknown, even to popular tradition, have suddenly emerged into our view by the chance discovery of a single inscription. The examples of *Gautamiputra, Samudragupta* and his successors, *Khāravela, Pravarasena, Dharmapāla, Devapāla, Bhoja* (*Pratihāra*) and many others, whose very names were unknown a century ago, should warn us not to put too much weight on negative evidence. And yet this is the only ground that can be reasonably urged in support of the views of scholars about *Vikramāditya.*

Fortunately, there has been a welcome change in the attitude of scholars in recent years. The Oriental Conference, held at Banaras in 1943, held a symposium on the subject, and a volume of essays about *Vikramāditya* has recently been published to celebrate the completion of 2000 years of the era that bears his name. Slowly, but steadily, more and more scholars are coming forward to challenge the validity of the assumption that *Vikramāditya* is a myth. Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, the author of this book, is one of the most distinguished writers belonging to this small group. He has devoted himself to the subject with an industry and assiduity which are really remarkable.

Nothing operates as a greater obstacle to the discovery of truth than the tacit admission of a proposition as an established truth without adequate evidence. For it not only relaxes the alertness of mind for fresh evidence on the subject, but also stands in the way of proper valuation of such evidence as we actually possess.

What is, therefore, needed is to bring a fresh mind on the problem of *Vikramāditya*, and to lay bare all the evidence which is likely to help us, if not to solve the problem, at least to understand aright its real character. This is the great task to which Dr. Pandey has set himself. In the following pages he has brought together all the relevant facts and arguments regarding the whole subject, so that every unprejudiced critic may have ample materials to draw his own conclusions. He has laid the students of Indian History under a deep debt of obligation by his comprehensive, critical and scholarly investigation into the problem of the historicity and personality of *Vikramāditya*. To me personally, it is a matter of great gratification to find at the fag end of my life that there is a growing appreciation of the point of view which I maintained, all alone, at the beginning of my career as a research student. What was then almost a cry in the wilderness, has now assumed its legitimate place as a not unreasonable hypothesis in course of half a century. Dr. Pandey's work is a solid and definite contribution towards the rehabilitation of the historicity of *Vikramāditya*.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

PREFACE

The genesis of this work lies in a symposium on 'the Historicity of *Vikramāditya*' convened under the auspices of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Banaras in 1943 on the eve of the completion of the Second Millennium of the *Vikrama* Era. The present author was one of the participants in the symposium, who held the view that there was a *Vikramāditya* in the first century B.C., responsible for the foundation of the era known after him, and that there was no justification for either the denial of his existence or his identification with some later kings of India, bearing the title of '*Vikramāditya*'. Encouraged by the deliberations of the symposium he continued his investigations into the vexed and still unsolved problem of *Vikramāditya*. In the same year an essay on 'the Historical Facts about the Personality and Reign of Vikramaditya' by the author, adjudged by eminent historians of India, won the First All-India Vikrama Prize organized by the Janmabhumi, Bombay. Since then the problem of *Vikramāditya* occupied his mind and after a continuous work and thought of six years he is able to present the result of his investigations in the form of this work.

Vikramāditya is one of the most renowned and popular figures of India's past. Except *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa,* the great heroes of the Great Epics of India—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Māhabhārata*—no other person is so universally remembered and admired as *Vikramāditya.* His defence of the freedom of the country against foreign invasion, his military and political achievements, his ideal administration, his proverbial sense of justice and his large-hearted patronage to literature and art have rendered his name immortal and enshrined it in the popular memory of the country.

The history of *Vikramāditya,* like the history of all other great persons of the world, has suffered on account of his greatness and popularity. His great achievements passed beyond the ken of people, who began to adore him. The sentiment of hero-worship made the admirers of *Vikramāditya* indifferent to, and very often oblivious of, the bare out-lines of reality about him. During the passage of centuries many rounds of tales, some real, some fictitious, some imaginary, some fantastic and even some absurd gathered round the extra-ordinary figure of *Vikramāditya,* though sober historical materials about him are not wanting.

The tangled cycles of tales about *Vikramāditya* frightened the modern historians away and created scepticism regarding his existence. The latter thought that *Vikramāditya* of Ujjayinī, the founder of the *Vikrama* Era, was a popular superstition. They not only rejected the tales as a source of sober history, but also the historical facts embedded in them. Among scientific historians there was a crusade against *Vikramāditya* of tradition and to say anything in favour of his historicity came to be regarded as a sacrilege against the science of historiography. The force of tradition, however, indirectly compelled them to recognize the existence of *Vikramāditya*, though they identified him with later historically known *Vikramādityas* of India.

It must be said frankly that the down-right rejection of all that is told and written about *Vikramāditya* as unworthy of consideration in the search of historical truth is unjust to truth itself and it does scant justice to the art of history. In the past, history and legends have very often mingled. Legends and myths regarding persons and events are not dead even to-day. Imagination and sentiments of men will ever keep them alive. Under the circumstances, considerable quantity of facts and truth is lying mixed up with tales and legends, waiting for a patient and judicious research. Simply because tales have grown round *Vikramāditya*, he cannot be regarded as unreal. No lover of history questions the historicity of *Udayana*, *Bhoja*, *Pṛthvīrāja* and many other great figures of Indian history, because they have inspired, and are the heroes of many stories. What is, then, the justification for singling out *Vikramāditya* and sacrificing him to the whims and prejudices of some historians ? The only thing needed is the selection and sifting of materials and their collation and utilisation, in the most judicious manner, for the reconstruction of the history of *Vikramāditya*. It is true that the most of the materials about *Vikramāditya* are traditional and not positive. But tradition has its own place and value in the reconstruction of the past. It will not be out of place to quote the following passage of Oldenberg (Ind. Ant. Vol. X, p. 217) regarding the importance of tradition in history :

> "The fundamental mistake which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions......consists in their touching only incidently upon the direct and clear ancient traditions which we possess......, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it".

Unless we discovered positive and indisputable facts against time-honoured traditions their rejection will be a travesty of history and opposed to reason.

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Two weighty objections have been urged against the historicity of *Vikramāditya*—(1) there are no positive data, epigraphical and numismatic, throwing light on his existence and (2) his name was not associated with the *Vikrama* Era during its early career. The inference drawn from the first objection is that there was no person called *Vikramāditya*. This inference based upon negative evidence is not warranted, because many personages of ancient India, for matter of that of the world, whose existence cannot be questioned, have left no inscriptions or coins for positivist historians. Even great figures like *Chandragupta Maurya*, *Mahāpadma*, *Ajātaśatru*, *Bimbisāra*, etc. have bequeathed no so-called positive data for the reconstruction of their history. Yet nobody questions their historicity. If we accept the absolute validity of this inference the entire pre-Aśokan history of India will become unreal and this will lead us to an absurd position. It should be pointed out here that though personal positive documents about *Vikramāditya* are not available so far, such documents connected with *Avanti* and neighbouring areas in the first century B.C. are not wanting and they help us in establishing the historicity of *Vikramāditya*. As regards the non-association of the name of *Vikramāditya* with the *Vikrama* Era during its early centuries it should be observed that it is not peculiar to the *Vikrama* Era alone. The Śaka era is called so in the 500th year of its currency; before that it was referred to as mere *Varsha*. The case of even the Gupta Era is not different. Out of fifty references (Bhandarkar's list in Ep. Ind.) to it up to G.E. 221, ten refer to it as *Varsha*, thirty-seven call it as mere Saṁvat and only three designate it as *Gupta Kāla*. Who can assert that the Gupta Era was not founded by a Gupta King and the Śaka era was not started by a *Śaka* (or *Sātavāhana*) king? The negative evidence about the *Vikrama* Era also cannot prove that it was not founded by *Vikramāditya*.

In this work an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history of *Vikramāditya* and the social and cultural history of his age on the basis of various types of evidences—astronomy, folk-tales, Brahmanical literary traditions, Jain traditions, archæology, history of tribal migrations in Asia and the pure literature of ancient India. The authenticity of these evidences and the validity of their application have been discussed in their due places. It should be observed here that the present writer regards *Kālidāsa* a contemporary of *Vikramāditya* and has utilised his works in drawing a social and cultural picture of the first century B.C.

Broadly speaking the whole work can be divided into three parts. The first two chapters deal with the historicity of *Vikramāditya* in detail,

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because this is still the most controversial aspect of his history. Chapters III-VIII & XIV deal with his, more or less, personal and official history and the rest with the history of his age. Thus, to a considerable extent, the work presents the reconstruction of the the history of the first century B.C., which so far has remained one of the darkest periods of Indian history.

The author tenders his sincere gratefulness to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for his interest in the publication of this work, and for his kindly writing a Foreword to it. He is also glad to acknowledge his gratitude to all those who have contributed to the solution of the pronlem of *Vikramāditya* so far, because but for their pioneer work it could not have been possible to build this edifice of reconstruction. He received valuable help from Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R. S. Tripathi and Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, by way of suggestions and criticisms for which he is specially indebted to them. His thanks are due to Pandit Radhavinod Goswamy, M.A., the proprietor of the Shatadala Prakashana, Banaras, for undertaking the printing and publication of this book in spite of many press difficulties. The index of the book was prepared by Nemi Kumar Jain for which the author is thankful to him.

Banaras Hindu University
Vijayadaśamī, V. E. 2006
October, 1949.

RAJ BALI PANDEY

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CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF VIKRAMĀDITYA

1. SCEPTICISM UNWARRANTED.

THE historicity of Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. has been questioned in utter disregard of the time-honoured and most widely current traditions of India. The sceptical and overcautious historians either altogether deny his existence or try to father the Vikrama Era upon some 'historically known' kings of ancient India. This scepticism is based not so much upon the direct investigation into the problem of Vikramāditya and his era as upon indirect assumption started by some European orientalists of the nineteenth century and credulously followed by some Indian historians. In the following pages an attempt has been made to show that denial and scepticism are unwarranted in the light of available evidences. The deep-rooted traditions about Vikramāditya cannot be brushed aside, and they present a sufficiently strong and reliable case for his existence in the first century B. C.

2. THE EVIDENCE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA.

The most direct, persistent and living evidence throwing light on the existence of Vikramāditya is the era founded by him—the Vikrama-Ṣamvat. A number of other eras were current in ancient India–Sṛshtyābda (Creation Era); Saptarshi-(Era of the saven sages [astral]); Kali-samvat (Era started

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at the begining of the Kali age) Yudhishṭhira-samvat; Ananda-samvat; Buddha-era; Mahāvīra-era; Mauryan Era ; Śaka Era ; Kanishka Era ; Gupta Era ; Chedi Era etc. But of all these eras the Vikrama era has shown the greatest vitality of survival and it is the most widely current era in India including the Himalayan states. Even after the introduction of the Christian era in this cuntry by the British rule, in the religious and social transactions of the Hindus it is the Vikrama era, which is mostly used. This one fact alone proves that the era, which has outlived such a long time and has permeated the entire Hindu life, could not have been started in a void or from a fiction. In Hindu almanacs and horoscopes it is universally associated with Vikramāditya [1] The current year of the Vikrama era is 2006. By process of simple calculation the foundation of the era goes back to (2006—1949=) 57 B. C., and its founder Vikramāditya must have flourished in the first century B. C.

(*i*) *Objections.*

The strongest objections urged against this evidence are twofold. Firstly, the name of Vikramāditya is not associated with the Vikrama era from the time of its foundation and during its early centuries and, secondly, the post-christian era astronomers do not use and mention it in their works, rather, they date their compositions in the Śaka era. The ancient inscriptions found in Malwa, Rajputana and neighbouring areas disclose that the earliest name of the era was Kṛta:[2]

(1) The Nandasa sacrificial pillar–inscription found in the Udaipur state is dated in the Kṛta era 282[3].

---

[1] श्रीमन्नृपतिवीरविक्रमादित्यसंवत्सरे ·······।

[2] For all these inscriptions, except mentioned otherwise, kindly see Epigraphia Indica, Vols. XIX—XXIII, Appendix A.

[3] कृतयोर्द्वयोर्वर्षशतयोर्द्व्यशीतयोः चैत्रपूर्णमास्याम् । Edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 118-25. The author utilised the proof copy which is not yet finally printed,

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(2) The Badwa sacrificial pillar-inscriptions found in the Kota state are dated in the Kṛta era 295[1].

(3) The Barnala sacrificial pillar-inscriptions found in the Jaipur state are dated in the Kṛta era 284 and 335[2].

(4) The Vijaygadh inscriptions found in the Bharatpur state are dated in the Kṛta era 428[3].

(5) The Mandasor inscription found in Malwa is dated in the Kṛta era 461[4].

(6) The Gangadhara inscription found in Rajputana is dated in Kṛta era 480[5].

(7) The Nagari inscription is dated in the Kṛta era 481[6].

From the year 461 to the year 936 the era has been called the era of the Mālava republic, the Mālava people or the Mālava lords:

(1) In the Mandasor inscription of 461 the era is called both Kṛta and Mālava[7].

(2) In the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta the date is in the era of Mālava republic[8].

(3) The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman is dated in the era of Mālava republic 589[9].

---

[1] कृते हि (कृतैः २०० + ९० + ५ फाल्गुण शु० ५) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43ff.

[2] कृते हि ३०० + ३० + ५ जरा (ज्येष्ठ) शुद्धस्य पंचदशी ।

[3] कृतेषु चतुर्ष, वर्षशतेष्वष्टाविंशेषु ४०० + २० + ८ फाल्गुण-बहुलस्य पंचदश्यामेतस्यां पूर्वायाम् ।

[4] श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।

[5] यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु शतेषु...।

[6] कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु...।

[7] श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते । Fleet:Gupta Inscriptions, No. 33.

[8] मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । Ibid. NO. 34.

[9] मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ।

(4) The Kanaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa found in the Kota state is dated in the era of the Mālava lords 795[1].

(5) The Gyaraspur inscription found in the Gwalior state is dated in the Mālava-Kāla (era) 936[2].

From the end of the ninth century onward the era is found associated with Vikrama or Vikramāditya:

(1) The Dhaulapur inscription of Chaṇḍa-mahāsena is dated in the Vikrama-Kāla (era) 898[3].

(2) The Bijapur inscription of Rāsṭrakūṭa Vidagdharāja is dated in the Vikrama-Kāla (era) 973[4].

(3) A Bodhagayā inscription is dated in the Vikrama-samvatsara (era) 1005[5].

(4) The Ahāra inscription of Allata found in the Udaipur sate is dated in the Vikrama-kāla (era) 1008.[6]

(5) The Ekalingaji inscription of Naravāhana found in the Udaipur state is dated in the era of King Vikrama 1028.[7]

(6) The Vasantagadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla found in the Sirohi state is dated in the era of Vikramāditya 1099.[8]

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[1] संवत्सरशतैर्यातै ···मालवेशानाम् । Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, p. 59

[2] मालवकालाच्छरदां ·· । Arch. Survey Report, Vol. X, plate II.

[3] वसुनवाष्टौ वर्षागतस्य कालस्य विक्रमाख्यस्य । Ep. Ind-. Appendi, to Vol XI X-XXIII.

[4] विक्रमकाले गते ···।

[5] विक्रमसंवत्सर १००५ ।

[6] दशदिग्विक्रमकाले वैशाखे शुद्धसप्तमीदिवसे ।

[7] विक्रमादित्यभूभृतः अष्टाविंशतिसंयुक्ते शते दशगुणे सति ।

[8] नवनवतिरिहासीद् विक्रमादित्यकाले ।

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(ii) *The Identity of the Kṛta, the Malava and the Vikrama Eras.*

On the ground of astronomical calculations and regional considerations eminent scholars have come to the conclusion that the Kṛta era, the Mālava eras and the Vikrama era are co-eval and identical, all the three starting from 57 B. C.[1]. When the identity of these eras is estableshed, it becomes quite clear that the era founded by Vikramāditya has been current during the past twenty centuries. But a very cogent question may be advanced : If the founder of the era was Vikramāditya, why is it not named after him during its early career and it is first called as the Kṛta era and then it is known as the era of the Mālava people or republic or Mālava lords and lately it is designated as Vikrama era ? The question is, however, capable of an easy solution which can be explained as follows :

(iii) *The early omission of the name 'Vikrama' Explained.*

Vikramāditya, as it will be evident later on, was the leader of a republic (gaṇa-mukhya) and not an absolute monarch.[2] Though he was mainly instrumental in the foundation of the era, he could not claim the sole credit for it. In a republican type of state the gaṇa (the congregation of people) is more important than the individual leader howsoever influential he might be. Great achievements, like success in a war, were shared by the entire gaṇa (republic), as there was a fear of dissension, in case one single individual aspired to claim them. Under the circumstances, the era was to be named after the Mālava-gaṇa (of which Vikramāditya was the leader). The era was started to commemorate the Victory of the Mālava Republic against the barbarous Śakas whose expulsion from India freed the country from foreign invasion and inaugurated an era of peace and prosperity, which, figuratively, might be regarded as Kṛtayuga (Golden Age). So the era was first significantly called as Kṛta. Kṛta is not only a chronological division of time in Hindu astronomy but also a conceptual term denoting a virtuous and happy age. This is borne out by a verse found in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. The verse can be translated thus : "The sleeping is Kali ; the yawning is Dvāpara ; the standing is Tretā and the marching onward is Kṛta"[1] The era, when the people of India under the leadership of the Mālava-gaṇa were up and marching in the defence of their country against their enemies and were enjoying the fruits of their success, can aptly be called Kṛta.

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[1] Dr. A. S. Altekar, Sahyadri, October, 1943; Nagari-Pracharini Patrika, Vikramanka, samvat 2000

[2] See Chapters VI and VIII,

India, free from foreign invasion, enjoyed peace and prosperity for 135 years from 57 B. C. (when the era was founded) to 78 A. D. At the end of this Period the Śakas again started their invasions and in the absence of an able leadership in the country they occupied the whole of Sindhu, Surāshṭra and Avanti. The Mālava people were defeated and driven out of Avanti. But though the territories of Avanti were lost to the Mālavas, they survived the catastrophe as a people and cherished for a few centuries more the hope of regaining Avanti and re-establishing the Kṛta-yuga (Golden Age) once again. They shifted to the north-east of Avanti, carved out a new Mālava territory[2] and the era founded in 57 B. C was still called Kṛta. They continued their struggle with the Śakas, but owing to the disintegration of their power they were not able to restore their lost territories and prestige. This rendered a rude shock to their dream of the Kṛtayuga. The name Kṛta was dropped from the era. But, as the Mālava-gaṇa was alive, the era was still remembered as to commemorate the firm foundation of the Mālava republic in 57 B. C. when the Śakas were defeated. It came to be called the Mālava era—the era of the Mālava-gaṇa, the Mālava people and the Mālava lords.

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[1] कलिःशयानो भवति संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥ VII. 15

[2] महता स्वशक्तिगुरुणा पौरुषेण प्रथमचन्द्रदर्शन (मिव मा) मालवगणविषयमवतारयित्वा'...."Nandsa Yupa Inscriptions.

From the fourth and the fith centuries of the Christian era there was a new development in Indian history, which was eventually responsible for the change of the name of the era from the Mālava era to the Vikrama-era. When the Gupta power was rising in the first half of the fourth century the Mālavas were still a powerful republic beyond the west-south horizon of the Gupta kingdom. They head the list of a number of republics whom the great conqueror Samudragupta subjugated but spared them as subordinate allies[1]. The next ambitious king Chandragupta Vikramāditya adopted a sterner attitude towards these republics. He annexed and finally exterminated them. They are no longer heard of from this time. The Gupta empire engulfed them and spread over Malwa, Rajputana and central India. The Guptas had their own era starting from 319-20 A. D. But the ideal of freedom, for which the Mālavas stood, still possessed the mind of people in Malwa and Rajputana. They continued to use the Mālava era inspite of the Gupta rule and even the great Gupta emperor Kumāragupta was compelled to recognize the Mālava era in those areas. The Huṇas destroyed the Guptā empire in the sixth century A. D. and the hope of the Kṛta-ynga was altogether lost by the Indians. The Guptās were soon forgotten by them, but the Mālavas lingered in their memory, as their history had a greater vitality of survival in their political ideal of freedom from foreign domination, their sacrifices and tribulation in this cause and in the towering personality of their leader Vikramāditya. The era of the Mālavas overlived Gupta imperialism and continued in the name of the Mālava-gaṇa, the Mālava people and the Mālava lords.

By the eighth and the ninth centuries A. D. absolute monarchy, with all its implications, became an established institution in India. The very conception of a republican

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[1] मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमाद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादि.........
Fleet: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol, III NO. 1, pp. 1—27.

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state passed beyond the horizon of the mind of the Indians. In the last decade of the ninth century the Mālava-gaṇa was entirely merged into the luminous personality of Vikramāditya, whose memory was still enshrined in the popular mind, and the era was called after him. Vikramaditya himself came to be regarded as a king and the era was some times called the era of the king Vikrama or Vikramāditya. This transference from republicanism to monarchism in popular mind is not unique in India. Who, except a few learned people, know to-day that lord Krshṇa was a republican leader and the father of Lord Buddha was the chief of a republic ?

The omission of the Vikrama era in the astronomical works is capable of an easy explanation. Though the Śakas were repelled in their first attempt of invading India, they renewed their invasion in about 78 A. D. They conquered Avanti and made Ujjayinī their capital. We also know from the Jain work Prabhāvaka-charita that they started the Śaka era in 78 A. D. In those days Ujjayinī was a great seat of learning and a centre of astronomical researches. Astronomers, like other erudites, flocked to this city even under the Śakas. The Mālavas were dislodged from Avanti and pushed towards north-east and the city of Ujjayinī was compelled to discontinue the era founded by the Mālavas and was forced to adopt the era started by the Śakas. During the long period of about three hundud years, when the Śakas were ruling over Avanti and Surāshṭra, the Mālava era had hardly any chance of revival at Ujjayinī. The astronomers used the official Śaka era. In the beginning they did so under compulsion. Later on it became fashionable and habitual. Further, some sanctity was attached to the Śaka era when it came to be associsted with Śalivāhana which made it more popular than before. The Guptas conquered and ruled over Avanti for about a century and a half. The official era of the Guptas was their own. But the astronomers who had become conservative by this time and were psycho-

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logically reconciled to the Śaka-Śālivahana era, persisted in its use and would not adopt the Gupta era. When the power of the Guptas disappeared, the Mālava era was still current, but the astronomers would not change the mode of their dating. Such was the case not only in central India and the Deccan where the Śaka era became widely current and popular, but also in northern India where the Vikrama era assumed its present name and became universal. Astronomers and astrologers date their compositions in the Śaka era as late as the nineteenth century A. D. It was mainly due to their reconciliation to the Śaka-Śālivāhana era and partly due to the lack of proper political perspective in them[1].

3. POPULAR STORIES.

Vikramāditya, being one of the most popular figures of India's past, has inspired a number of popular stories and has provided themes for them in some form or the other. Even the most rustic person in a hamlet will sit down under the shade of a tree and will regale his rural audience with stories about Vikramāditya. These stories deal with different aspects of his life. Vikramāditya as an ideal king, his proverbial justice, his unsparing service of the people, his adventures and romances, his taking risks for relieving the miseries and afflictions of others and many more scenes from his life are the rich stores from which the popular mind derives its inspiration and materials. It may be observed here that these popular oral compositions and written literary tales have influenced one another. Many of the popular stories may be traced to some written literary traditions. Often it so happens that written stories, after their repeated recitals, are orally adopted by people for their oral narrations and undergo many alterations and additions. There is no doubt that in the popular stories there is much which is fictitious

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[1] For the history of individual Indian astronomers from Aryabhatta to Govinda Shastri, kindly see the Ganaka-tarangini of Sudhakara Dvivedi, Banaras.

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and legendary, but it also cannot be denied that these story-tellers ultimately bank upon some historically accepted facts about Vikramāditya and they only decorate and enrich the historical skeleton of their stories with popular imagery and fancy. When the popular stories about Vikramāditya are collected, classified and sifted, and when they are shorn of fabulous accretions, they reveal the following facts, the reality of which can be verified from other sources of history :

(1) Gandharvasena, the father of Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī.

(2) Vikramāditya also ruled at Ujjayinī and made wide conquests.

(3) The Mlechchhas[1] invaded the country during the time of Vikramāditya. The latter defeated them and founded his own era.

(4) The life of Vikramāditya was full of adventures and romances.

(5) Vikramāditya was an ideal ruler devoted to the service of his people.

(6) He was himself well-versed in Śāstras and he was also a great patron of poets like Kālidāsa and others.

(7) Vikramāditya had a son (political ?) namely Sāravāhana (or Śālivāhana), who was prophesied by astrologers to surpass his father in prowess, intelligence and fame.

On close examination the above facts furnish three important landmarks in the history of Vikramāditya–(1) The ancestral capital of Vikramāditya was Ujjayinī, (2) There was a serious foreign invasion during his time, which he repelled and founded his own era and (3) Vikramāditya was a senior contemporary of Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana, an Āndhra king of the Deccan.

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[1] In the Sanskrit literature the word 'Mlechchha' is used in the sense of a 'foreigner' rather contemptuously.

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4. THE LITERARY TRADITIONS OF THE HINDUS.

The Hindus have preserved the memories and history of Vikramāditya in their written literary traditions. These traditions not only substantially corroborate the popular tales in their broad otulines but also supply more detailed, realistic and exact picture of the life and achievements of Vikramāditya. Some selected literary traditions are reproduced and discussed below.

(1) THE GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ.

The earliest literary tradition about Vikramāditya is found in the Gāthāsaptaśatī, a Prākṛta anthology of romantic verses, composed by Hāla Śātavāhana, the Āndhra king of Pratishṭhāna. A reference to Vikramāditya occurs in one of the verses which can be translated as follows :

"The heroine, through her feet, satisfied at the pleasure of being massaged and spreading lac on your hands, teaches you lessons on the life of Vikramāditya"[1]. Gadādhara, the commentator, explains the above verse in the following words :

"In the context of Vikramāditya 'saṁvāhaṇa'(massaging) means 'saṁvādhana' (crushing of enemies) and 'lakkhaṁ' (red dye) means 'a lac of coins'. Vikramāditya, bieng satisfied at the defeat of his enemies by his subordinate, gives away a lac of coins in his hand"[2].

From the above passage it can be easily deduced that during the period when the Gāthāsaptaśatī was composed it was a current tradition among the poets that there had flourished a ruler namely Vikramāditya who was famous for

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[1] संवाहणसुहरसतोसियेण देन्तेण तुह करे लक्खम् ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअँ अणुसिक्खिअं तिरसा ॥ Gatha. V. 64.

[2] पक्षे संवाहणं संबाधनम् । लक्खम् लक्षम् । विक्रमादित्योऽपि भृत्यकर्तृकेन तुष्टः सन् भृत्यस्य करे लक्षं ददातीत्यर्थः ।

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his conquests and liberalities. It is commonly accepted by historians that Hāla, the author of the Gāthā, reigned during the closing years of the first century A. D.[1] Allowing about a century and a half for the spread of the name and fame of Vikramāditya, the age of Vikramāditya may smoothly be fixed in the first century B. C..

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, questions the authorship of the Gāthāsaptaśatī by Hāla Śātavāhana and the date of the Gāthā in the first century A. D.. He writes, "In the first place, that its author, Hāla, was a Śātavāhana is a mere tradition and must be set aside like all other traditions about the ancient literates of India. Introductory verse 13 of Bāṇa's Harsha-Carita, speaks of a Śātavāhana having composed a Kośa of songs, but there are no grounds to suppose that this Kośa is Hāla's Saptaśatī, as has been well pointed out by Prof. Weber (Ueber das Saptaśatakaṁ des Hāla, pp. 2-4). The internal evidence afforded by the work points, on the other hand, to a much later date for its composition. Only two points may be here noticed. The first is the reference to Kṛshṇa and Rādhikā contained in verse 1. 89. and second to a week day, Tuesday (Mangalavāra) in III. 61. The earliest mention of Rādhikā that I have been able to trace is in the Pañca-Tantra I (Bom. Sk. Series no. IV), p. 38, which was compiled in the fifth century after Christ. Similarly the practice of citing week-day in dates or for other general purposes came into vogue in the nineth century, though the earliest instance of its use is found in the Eraṇa inscription of Budhagupta dated A. D. 484 (Jour. R. A. S., 1912, pp. 1044-45). And we shall not be far wrong if we assign Hāla of the Gāthā-Saptaśatī to the commencement of the Sixth century A. D."[2].

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[1] The same date has been accepted by M. M. Pt. Haraprasad Shastri (Ep. Indica, Vol. XII, p. 230) and M. M. Pt. Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha (Prachina-Lipimala, p, 168),

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917. pp, 188-89,

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In the above-quoted passage Dr. Bhandarkar takes a very unreasonable attitude towards tradition when he advises us to set aside all traditions about ancient literates of India. It is no argument to cite Prof. Weber in his favour, whose many fantastic theories have been found untenable later on. There is no inherent incongruity in the Gāthāsaptaśatī to answer the reference to it in the Harsha-carita. It is really 'a treasure of beautiful verses'[1]. We know from other sources that Hāla Śatavāhana was a great patron of Prākṛta literature and he himself was a great poet[2]. Even the late Dr. Sir Ram-Kṛshṇa Gopal Bhandarkar has identified the Śātavāhana of the Harsha-carita with Hāla Śātavāhana[3]. Such is also the opinion of Merutunga[4], the author of the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi and Dr. Fleet[5].

As regards the mention of Rādhikā in the Gāthāsaptaśatī is concerned it can be pointed out that by no stretch of imagination it proves a later date for the Gāthā. A reference to Rādhikā in the Pañcha-tantra of the fifth century does not necessarily mean that it was the first reference of its kind. A reference to Rādhikā in the fifth century only means that her concept was already a popular one before that time, and it must have taken centuries to develop it to warrant its use by a story-writer. Under the circumstances, it is not impossible that the cult of Rādhā was current in the first century A. D., when the Gāthā was composed. Concerning the use of a week-day in the Gāthā Dr. Bhandarkar himself admits that its earliest use is found in Budhagupta's inscription of 484 A. D.. In a much older inscription of Śaka Kshatrapa

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1. अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहनः ।
   विशुद्धजातिभिः कोशं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥
2. केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य राज्ये प्राकृतभाषिणः । भोज, सरस्वतीकंठाभरण (आढ्यराजः शालिवाहनः । रत्नेश्वर on the above),
3. Bombay Gaz., Vol, I, Part II, p, 171,
4. P, 26
5. J. R. A S 1916. p, 820.

Rudradāman dated Śaka 52 (= 130 A. D.) a week-day (Thursday) is mentioned[1]. Hence the mention of Rādhikā and a week-day in the Gāthāsaptaśati does not drag down its date in the sixth century to suit the theory of Dr. Bhandarkar that Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat, was the Gupta king, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

(2). THE BRIHATKATHĀ.

Another early literary work which bears witness to the existence of Vikramāditya before the first century A. D. is the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya written in Paiśāchī Prākṛta. The original Bṛhatkathā is not available. But it is certain that it was rendered into Sanskrit before the eighth century A. D. which developed into two schools of Bṛhatkathā—(1) Kashmiri and (2) Nepali. The former is represented by two important Sanskrit works—(1) The Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī of Kshemendra and (2) The Kathā-saritsāgara of Somadeva. The latter school has only one book to its credit, the Śloka-saṁgraha of Buddha-svāmī, which was edited by the French savant Locate. If these works are properly examined and compared, it is possible to reconstruct the contents of the original Bṛhatkathā and it can be claimed with certitude that the Bṛhatkathā dealt with the life of Vikramāditya exhaustively. According to the tradition Guṇāḍhya was a contemporary of Hāla Śātavāhana and adorned his court. There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of Guṇāḍhya, but it cannot be brought down after the first or second century A. D.. Thus the existence of Vikramāditya before the first century A. D. is indicated by the Bṛhatkathā.

(2). THE BRIHATKATHĀ-MANJARĪ.

This book was written by Kshemendra, a Kashmiri Pandit, in the eleventh century A. D.. The writer says tnat his work was based on an earlier work, 'Bṛhatkathā' by Guṇāḍhya. We have already observed that Guṇāḍhya was a contemporary of Hāla Śātavāhana and flourished in the first century A. D. The Bṛhatkathā-mañjari (X.1. 8-13) contains the following story of Vikramāditya :

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[1] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५० + २ फागुणबहुलस बी २ गुरुवास (रे) सिंहलपुत्रस ओपशतस गोत्रस । Found at the village Andhe and prepared by Vallabhaji Haridatta, प्राचीनलिपिमाला, p, 168,

"Gods led by Indra approached Śiva sitting on the peak of Kailāśa mountain and said, 'O Lord, the demons, the children of Diti, who were destroyed by you in the past, are reborn again in the form of the Mlechchhas. They have reduced the happy gods to straws. Now you are our only refuge.' Lord Śiva, having listened to the pitiable words of the gods, instructed his gaṇa Mālyavant to remove the burden of the earth. Mālyavant was hesitent in the beginning, but under the order of Śiva and persuation of Pārvatī, he reincarnated himself as a son of the prosperous lord of Ujjayinī, Mahendrāditya. The lord of Ujjayinī was already informed of this event in his dream. After delivery the son was named Vikramāditya alias Vishamaśīla. In course of time he grew very powerful, an ocean of fame and a reservoir of all knowledge and learning. × × × Vikramāditya, coming of age, destroyed the Mlechchhas."

In the above extract from the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī we find a mixture of human and supernatural elements to suit the popular readers of stories. But when we remove the supernatural, which has been inserted to occasion the birth of a great man, the following skeleton of bare facts becomes evident :

(i) The father of Vikramāditya was Mahendrāditya, who ruled at Ujjayinī.

(ii) Before the birth of Vikramāditya the country was endangered by a hated foreign invasion.

(iii) The proper name of the hero was Vikramāditya and his epithet was Vishamaśīla.

(iv) The popular religion in Avanti was Śaivism.

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(v) When Vikramāditya became of age, he defeated the foreign invaders and expelled them from the country.

Even from the supernatural elements of the story the following historical facts are suggested :

(i) The father of Vikramāditya and his people were Śaivites.

(ii) The gaṇa of Śiva symbolizes the gaṇa (republican) type of state.

(iii) The name Mālyavant most probably indicates that the name of the republican tribe, to which Vikramāditya belonged, was Mālava.

(4) THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA.

This work was composed by another Kashmiri Pandit, Somadevabhaṭṭa, in the eleventh century. It furnishes more details about the life and various achievements of Vikramāditya than those found in the Bṛhatkathā-mañjari. Regarding the nature and authenticity of this work Somadeva in his Kathāpīṭha[1] (Introduction to the book) says the following :

"This book is precisely on the model of that (the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya) from which it is taken; there is not even the slightest deviation; only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work; the observance of propriety and natural connection, and joining to-gether of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with spirit of the stories, are as far as possible kept in view : I have not made this attempt through a desire of reputation for ingenuity but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."

Somadeva refers to the life-stories of Vikramādidya in several sections[2] of his book. The main currents of Vikramāditya's life are reproduced below from the XVIII lambaka (chapter) of the Kathāsaritsāgara:

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[1] यथामूलं तथैवैतन्नमनागप्यतिक्रमः । 1 etc I, 1, 10.

[2] VI, I; VII, 4; XII.

"There is in Avantī a famous city named Ujjayinī, the dwelling-place of Śiva, built by Viśvakarman in the commencement of the Yuga; which like a virtuous woman is invincible by strangers; like a lotus-plant in the resort of the goddess of prosperity; like the heart of the good is in virtue; like the earth is full of many wonder sights.

"There dwelt in that city a world-conquering king, named Mahendrāditya the slayer of his enemies' armies, like Indra in Amarāvatī. In regard of prowess he was a wielder of many weapons; in regard of beauty he was the flower-weaponed god (Kāma, the god of love) himself; his hand was ever open in bounty but was firmly clenched on the hilt of his sword. That king had a wife named Saumyadarśanā, who was to him as Śachī to Indra, as Gaurī to Śiva, as Śrī to Vishṇu. And that king had a great minister named Sumati, and warder named Vajrāyudha, in whose family the office was hereditary. With them the king remained ruling his realm, propitiating Śiva, and ever bearing various vows in order to obtain a son.

"In the meanwhile, as Śiva was with Pārvatī on the mighty mountain Kailāsa, the glens of which are visited by troops of gods, which is beautiful with the smile that the Northern quarter smiles, joyous at vanquishing all the others, all the gods with Indra at their head came to visit him being afflicted by the oppression of the Mlechchhas, and the immortals bowed, and then sat down and praised Śiva, and when he asked them the reason of their coming, they addressed to him this prayer: 'O god, those Asuras, who were slain by thee and Vishṇu, have been now again born on the earth in the form of Mlechchhas. They slay Brāhamans, they interfere with the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and they carry off the daughters of hermits. Indeed, what crime do not the villains commit? Now, thou knowest lord! that the world of gods is ever nourished by the earth, for the oblation offered in the fire by Brāhamans nourish the dwellers in heaven. But as the Mlechchhas have overrun the earth, the auspicious words are nowhere pronounced over the burnt offerings and the world of gods is being exhausted by the cutting off of their share of the sacrifice and other supplies (the central idea of the birds of Aristophanes). So devise an expedient in this matter; cause some hero to become incarnate on the earth, mighty enough to destroy those Mlechchhas'.

"When Śiva had been entreated by the gods, he said to them, 'Depart, you need not be anxious about this matter, be at your ease. Rest assured that I will soon devise an expedient which will meet the difficulty.' When Śiva had said this he dismissed the gods to their abodes.

"And when they had gone, the Holy one with Pārvatī at his side summoned a Gaṇa, named Mālyavant, and gave him this order, "My son descend into the condition of a man, and be born in the city of Ujjayinī as the brave son of king Mahendrāditya."

"And at that time the god, whose diadem is fashioned of a digit of the moon, said to that king in a dream, "I am pleased with thee, king, so a son shall be born to thee, who by his might shall conquer the earth with all its divisions; and that hero shall reduce under his sway the Yakshas, Rākshasas, Piśāchas and others, even those that move in the air, and dwell in Pātāla, and shall slay the hosts of the Mlechchhas; for this reason he shall be named Vikramāditya, and also Vishamaśila on account of his stern hostility.

"Then his illustrious queen became pregnant, like the eastern quarter in the morning, when the orb of the sun is about to rise, and she was conspicuous for the black tint of the nipples of her breasts, which appeared like a seal to secure the milk for the king with whom she was pregnant. In her dreams at that time she crossed seven seas, being worshipped by all the Yakshas, Vetālas and Rākshasas. And when the due time was come, she brought forth a glorious son, who lit up the chamber as the rising sun does the heaven. And when he was born, the sky became indeed glorious, laughing with falling rain of flowers, and ringing with the noise of the gods' drums. And on that occasion the city was altogether distracted with festive joy, and appeared as if generally wind-struck. And at that time the king rained wealth there so unceasingly, that, except the Buddhists, no one was without a god (the word aniśvara, when applied to Buddhists, refers to their not believing in a Disposer, but its other meaning is " wanting in wealth".) And knig Mahendrāditya gave him the name of Vikramāditya, which Śiva had mentoined, and also that of Vishamaśīla.

× × ×

"And that prince Vikramāditya grew up with those three minister's son, as with spirit, courage, and might. When he was invested with the sacred thread, and put under teachers they were merely the occasions of his learning the sciences, which revealed themselves to him without effort. And whatever science or accomplishment he was seen to employ, was known by those, who understood it, to be possessed by him to the highest degree of excellence. And when people saw that prince fighting with heavenly weapons they even began to pay less attention to the stories about the great archer Rāma and other herds of the kind. And his father brought for him beautiful maidens, given by kings who had submitted after defeat, like so many goddesses of Fortune.

"Then his father, king Mahendrāditya, seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great valour, and beloved by the subjects, duly anointed him heir to his realm, and being himself old, retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇasī, and made the god Śiva his refuge.

"And king Vikramāditya, having obtained that kingdom of his father, began in due course to blaze forth, as the sun, when it has occupied the sky. Even haughty kings, when they saw the string fitted into the notch of his bending bow, learnt a lesson from that weapon, and bent likewise on every side. Of godlike dignity, having subdued to his sway, even Vetālas, Rākshasas and other demons, he chastised righteously those that followed evil courses. The armies of that Vikramāditya roamed over the earth like rays of the sun, shedding into every quarter the light of order. Though that king was a mighty hero, he dreaded the other world, though a brave warrior he was not hard-handed (or not cruel in exacting tribute), though not uxorious, he was beloved by his wives. He was the father of all the fatherless, the friend of all the friendless and the protector of all unprotected among his subjects. Surely his glory furnished the Disposer with the material out of which he built up the White Island, the sea of Milk, Mount Kailāsa and the Himalayas.

× × ×

"Your majesty has conquered the Dekkan and the western border, and Madhyadeśa and Saurāshṭra and all the eastern region of the Ganges; and the northern region and Kaśmira have been made tributary and various forts and islands have been conquered and the hosts of the Mlechchhas have been slain and the rest have been reduced to submission and various kings have entered the camp of Vikramaśakti, and he himself is coming here with those kings, and is now, my lord, two or three marches off"[1].

As it is vouchsafed in the introduction that the Kathāsaritsāgara is based on the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, which was written in the first century A. D. and was closely conversent with the history of Vikramāditya. But it is evident that Vikramāditya's story is told in a poetic style and the accounts suffer from literary embelishments. On a close analysis, however, the Kathāsaritsāgara reveals the following solid facts about Vikramāditya[2].

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[1] Kathasaritsagara, C XX, p 563-7, translated by C- H Twaney,

[2] The late K. P. Jayaswal tried to identify this Vikramaditya with the Satavahana of 78 A. D. on the basis of some resemblances in names, which was wholly unwarranted. See his paper in J. B. O. R. S, Vol XVI, pp. 295—300.

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(1) The father of Vikramāditya was called Mahendrāditya and his mothers' name was Saumyadarśanā.

(2) Mahendrāditya and Vikramāditya both ruled at Ujjayinī which was the capital of Avantī.

(3) The current religion in that part of the country was Śaivism.

(4) On the eve of Vikramāditya's birth the country was invaded by foreign barbarians.

(5) When Vikramāditya became of age, he freed the country from barbarians and made wide conquests and thereby established his paramountcy in the country.

(6) Vikramāditya was famous for his prowess and other noble qualities befitting an ideal man and a ruler.

(7) He was a great erudite and a patron of art and literature.

The accounts of Vikramāditya as found in the Kathāsaritsāgara broadly correspond to those contained in the Bṛhatkathā-mañjari, as both the works drew upon the common source, the Bṛhatkathā. The Kathāsaritsāgara, however, supplies an extra piece of historical information of great importance. Somadeva, as he says in the introduction of his work, was faithful to the text of the Bṛhatkathā which was available to him. But it seems that some centuries after Guṇāḍhya his Bṛhatkatha received interpolations which were current in the time of Somadeva. One of these interpolations was the story of the Vikramāditya of Pāṭaliputra. Somadeva mentions him separately and there was absolutely no confusion in his mind regarding the independent existence of two Vikramādityas, one of Ujjayinī and the other of Pāṭaliputra. This fact is fatal to the theory that attempts to identify Chandragupta II Vikramāditya with the Vikramāditya of Ujjayini. The account of the Vikramāditya of Pataliputra found in the Kathāsaritsāgara reminds one of the relation of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya with the Vākāṭakas of the Deccan; Chandragupta could not subdue the Vākāṭakas with sword, but he won them over on his side by diplomacy. The story has got a tinge of realism when it refers to the elephantry and cavalry of Magadha for which it was famous and to the light infantry of the king of Pratishṭhāna for which Mahārāshṭra was reputed.

(5) SOME OTHER LITERARY WORKS.

A few other laterday literary works of the Hindus exclusively deal with adventures and romances of Vikramāditya. They are Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśaka, Vetālapañchaviṁśati and Śuka-saptaśati. These are very popular works translated under different names in almost all provincial languages of India. Because these works are very popular and they have been several times handled and remodelled by ordinary common writers, they have lost their historical character. In them the accounts of Vikramāditya become legendary, but they all unanimously assert the existence of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and his greatness in the various departments of life. The Vikramāditya of these works may be vague, but he is not unreal.

5. THE EVIDENCE OF THE PURANAS.

One of the essential sections of the Purāṇas is Vaṁśānucharita (Dynastic History) and one might naturally expect the Purāṇas to deal with Vikramāditya and his family so important in the history of ancient India. It was presumed by some scholars that the Purāṇas are altogether silent about Vikramāditya and it was regarded as one of the proofs of his non-existence. It can be submitted that the existence of a ruler cannot be denied simply because he is not mentioned in the Purāṇas. It is a well-known fact that the Purāṇas do not include a large number of republican states, which existed in ancient India, in their dynastic history, but the history of these states is revealed by the Buddhist and Jain sources. Thus the omission in the Purāṇas is not a conclusive proof of the non-existence of a state, a people, or a person. The Purāṇas, however, fortunately, throw light on the history of Vikramāditya. While dealing with the history of the Āndhras, the Purāṇas[1] state that 'taking their own offshoots there will be six contemporary dynasties of the Āndhras'[2] which will be listed as follows :

(1) The Āndhra-bhṛtyas.
(2) The ten Ābhīras.
(3) The seven (ten) Gardabhilas (Gardabhins).
(4) The ten Śakas.
(5) The eight Yavanas.
(6) The fourteen Tukhāras, thirteen Muruṇḍas, and eighteen Maunas.

It is evident from the Jain tradition[3] that Vikramāditya belonged to the family of the Gardabhilas. When the Purāṇas refer to the Gardabhila family, they are obviously not oblivious of the existence of Vikramāditya.

Besides the categorical reference to the family of Vikramāditya in the Purāṇas, we have specific references to him also in them. The Bhavishya-purāṇa[4] mentions him twice. At one place it gives the following story about Vikramāditya :

"On that time there was a Brahmaṇa known as Jayanta. Through austerity he received a fruit from Indra (by

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[1] The Vayupurana, XXXVII, 352-358; the Brahmandapurana, LXXIV, 171—178,

[2] अंध्राणां संस्थिताः पञ्च तेषां वंश्याश्च ये पुनः । Brahmandapurana.

[3] The Prabhavaka-Charita.

[4] तस्मिन्काले द्विजः कश्चिज्जयंतो नाम विश्रुतः ।
तत्फलं तपसा प्राप्तः शक्रतः स्वगृहं ययौ ॥
जयंतो भर्तृहरये लक्षस्वर्णेन वर्णयन् ।
भुक्त्वा भर्तृहरिस्तत्र योगारूढो वनं गतः ॥
विक्रमादित्य एवास्य भुक्त्वा राज्यमकंटकम् ॥ II.23

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> eating which (one would become immortal) and went home. Jayanta sold that furit to Bhartṛhari for one lac of gold coins. After eating that fruit Bhartṛhari entered into Yoga and retired to a forest. Then Vikramāditya ruled over his territories unrivalled."

At another place his life-history is given as follows :

> "Three thousand seven hundred and ten years after the beginning of the Kali age, in the province of Avanti, there lived a King namely Pramara. He was followed in succession by MahāmadaDevāpi, Devaduta and Gandharvasena. Gandharvasena retired to a forest, after having bestowed his Kingdom upon his son Śankha. Indra (afraid of his austerity) sent a damsel namely Vīramatī to him. A son namely Vikramāditya was born to him from Vīramatī. Vikramāditya took his bith in order to destroy the Śakas and to establish the Aryan religion. A Gaṇa of Śankara namely "Śivadṛshṭi incarnated himself in the form of Vikramāditya. Lord Śiva conferred upon Vikramāditya a lion-throne supported by thirty-two puppets. Mother Pārvatī, along with the lion-throne, sent one gaṇa, namely Vaitāla, for the protection of Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya ruled for a long time. He made world-conquests and performed Aśvamedha sacrifice."

Another mention of Vikramāditya is found in the Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa of the Skand-purāṇa where it is said that he flourished three thousand years after the beginning of the Kali age.

The date of the Bhavishya-purāṇa is controversial. According to Pargiter it was composed during the reign of Yajñaśri, an Āndhra King, in the second century A. D.. In this case it is a good evidence on the historicity of Vikramāditya in the first century B. C.. But many scholars dispute its date assigned by Pargiter and are of the opinion that it has

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received a number of interpolations in course of time. Even accepting the view that the Bhavishya-purāṇa underwent changes, it can be emphasized that the tradition of Vikramāditya was known to the later editors of the Purāṇa, though they were sometimes confused in their memories of the past events. Evidently, there is a confusion in the second reference to Vikramāditya, where we find an attempt at linking him up with Pramara (the Paramāra). The common factor behind this confusion is the Province of Avanti where both flourished. Both taken separately, however, were historical realities.

6. THE LITERARY TRADITIONS OF THE JAINS.

Vikramāditya occupies an important place not only in the literary traditions of the Brahmanical Hindus but he is also a central figure in the historical and biographical literature of the Jains. The Jains were closely connected with Avanti and its neighbouring areas for a long time. Naturally, they have preserved the traditions of Vikramāditya in their literary works. Many of their works were composed much later than the age of Vikramāditya, but they have recorded the old tradition as faithfully as possible. Some of them are, historically, of inferior qualities and they have confused the past. Only the most important of them can be used here.

(1) THE EVIDENCE OF THE PATTĀVALIS.

The Pattāvalis are chronological works, mostly written in Prākṛta, in a plain and matter-of-fact language. They record the succession of important persons, e.g. saints, rulers etc. since the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra up to the middle ages. While doing so, they reveal the chronological position of Vikramāditya in a series of important dynasties and rulers. When we collate and compare the Pattāvalis[1], the chronological history of Avanti can be given as follows :

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[1] Sri Pattavali-samuchchaya, Part I, pp. 17, 46, 150, 166, 199, 200. Edited by Muni Darsanavijaya.

THE NIRVĀNA OF MAHĀVIRA IN 527 B. C.

	Rulers	Reign-periods		
1.	Pālaka (after Chaṇḍa-pradyota)	60	years	
2.	The Nandas	155	,,	
3.	The Mauryas	108	,,	
4.	Pushyamitra	30	,,	
5.	Balamitra-Bhānumitra	60	,,	
6.	Naravāhana	40	,,	
7.	Garddabhila	13	,,	
8.	Śaka	4	,,	
			,,	
		470	,,	
9.	Vikramāditya	60	,,	57 B. C.
10.	Vikramacharita or Dharmāditya	40	years	
11.	Bhailla	11	,,	
12.	Nailla	14	,,	
13.	Nāhaḍa	10	,,	
		605		
14.	Reoccupation of Ujjayini by the Śakas and the foundation of the Śaka era.			78 A. D.

According to the very sober calculation of the Paṭṭāvalis Vikramāditva started his rule in 57 B. C. It tallies perfectly with the evidence of the Vikrama era. It is evident that both the Hindu astronomers and the Jain chronologers were drawing upon the common tradition of the land.

(2). THE EVIDENCE OF THE JAIN HARIVAṀŚA.

This work was written in 705 Śaka era[1] (783-84 A. D.) by Jinasena, a distinguished Jain writer. It contains a succinct chronological history[1] of *Avanti*, on the basis of which the following table can be made :

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[1] शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरे etc. Introdution.

	Rulers	Reign-periods		
	Vīranirvāṇakāla			527 B. C.
1.	Palaka	60	years	
2.	Vijaya (Vishaya) kings	155	,,	
3.	Purindha (Mauryas)	40	,,	
4.	Pushyamitra	30	,,	
5.	Vasumitra and Agnimitra	60	years	
6.	Rāsabha (Garddabhila)	100	,,	
				82 B. C.
		445	,,	
7.	Naravāha	42	,,	
		487	,,	40 B. C.

The Jain Harivaṁśa, in its chronological list, does not refer to Vikramāditya by name but it positively mentions the Rāsabha (= Garddabhila) family or tribe to which Vikramāditya belonged. It should be noted here that the Pattavalis and the Jain Harivaṁśa, both, contain sober historical documents. They do not suffer from poetic imageries and exaggerations. Instead of conventional round numbers they supply odd numbers for the reign-periods of different kings and dynasties. In view of these facts, there is hardly any justification for doubting their authenticity, except making adjustments in some cases. As these works were meant to be chronological and dynastic lists and sketches, we cannot expect biographical details from them. For these we have to look forward to another branch of the Jain literature–Prabandha-sāhitya—, which was produced though late in time, yet it was based on old authentic traditions of the country and presents a realistic picture of the past. There are a large number of works in this branch of the Jain literature, but only the most important of them can be used here.

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[1] LX. 487-490.

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(3). THE PRABHĀVAKA-CHARITA.

This work was written by Prabhāchandrasūri. The library of the Pātana-saṁgha contains its earliest manuscript, which is assigned to the fourteenth century Vikrama era.[1] Evidently, the work was written late but the author states that his writings were mostly based upon earlier works, traditions maintained by widely read sages and historical and biographical lore[2]. It imitates the Sthavirāvali-charita of Hemachandrasūri and contains the biographies of eminent Śvetāmbara Jain saints, scholars, their patrons and kings, who flourished during the period between the first century and the thirteenth century Vikrama era. Some of the most important rulers who adorn the pages of this work are Vikramāditya, Harshavardhana, Āmarāja, Bhojadeva, Bhimadeva, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla etc. These are the well-known rulers of ancient India and the inclusion of their lives in the Prabhāvaka-charita amply justifies its historical character.

The work contains the biography[3] of the one of most notable Jain saints, Kālakasūri, which narrates the Śaka invasion of India and the reconquest of Ujjayini by Vikramāditya and the foundation of his era. The relevant portion of the biography can be given as follows :

"There was a city called Śridharāvarsha. There lived a king called Virasiṁha, who was very powerful. His wife was called Surasundari. He had a son called Kālaka and a daughter Sarasvati. × × × Impressed by Guṇakara, the prince embraced Jainism and became ascetic together with his sister. × × × Once he went to Ujjayini. At that time

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1. Introduction to the Prabhavaka-charita, edited by Jinavijayamuni, p 2
2. बहुश्रुतमुनीशेभ्यः प्रागग्रंथेभ्यश्च कानिचित् ।
   उपश्रुत्येतिवृत्तानि वर्णयिष्ये कियन्त्यपि ॥ Prastavikam, verse 15.
3. We find a few variations in the Nirnayasagara Press edition of the Prabhavaka-charita.

the king of Ujjayini was Gardabhilla, and he happened to be outside the capital, when Kālaka with his sister was there. Struck with the beauty of Sarasvati, the sister of Kālaka, Gardabhilla carried her off. × × × On hearing this through the Jain nuns, who accompanied him, Kālaka went to the court of Gardabhilla and spoke thus :

"O Śaiva king, it is true that we have formed a fence round our Kachchha to protect its fruits. But when inspite of your being regarded as the protector of the religions of all castes, you yourself carry off and eat the fruits, whom shall we complain to ?"

"When the king paid no attention to the appeal of Kālaka, the latter, in virtue of the Kshattriya blood flowing in his veins, took an oath that, if he should not slay the king with his relations and property, he would be guilty of the terrible sin of the slaughter of humanity."

"Kālaka moved in the western direction and crossing the banks of the Indus river reached the country of the Śakhins (Śakas). There were ninetysix Śaka kings. At their head there was an overlord with an army of seven lacs of horses. Kālaka sought an interview with one of the Śaka feudal chiefs and in course of time became his fast friend."

"Once the overlord of the Śaka chiefs became angry with them and circulated an order to the effect that unless they all offered their heads to him the enjoyment of their respective fiefs would not remain in their familes. In it Kālaka saw a welcome opportunity of feeding his vengeance upon Gardabhilla. He secretly assembled all the Śaka kings and advised them to migrate towards India in search of new homes instead of surrendering their heads."

"Crossing the Indus by boats, the Śakas entered the Surāshtra province. During the rainy season they stopped, and having divided the country into ninetysix sections

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settled there. They consolidated and increased their power in Surāshtra. After conquering Pāñchāla and Lāta, they reached the border of Malwa."

× × × × ×

"The Śaka armies, like the swarms of locusts, surrounded Viśāla (Ujjayini) and Gardabhilla was captured alive. At the intervention of Kālaka, however, he was allowed to go into exile. While wandering in forests, he was killed by a tiger. The country was divided among the conquerors. Sarasvati was recovered and taken among the nuns."

"Some time after this event Sri Vikramāditya uprooted the family of the Śakas and shone like a universal ruler. After redeeming the earth from debts, through the help of the men of gold (moneyed mercantile community), he founded an era of his own. Then again, 135 years after Vikramāditya the Śakas invaded Avanti for the second time, destroyed the family of Vikramāditya and started an era after their name."[1]

From the biography of Kālkāchārya given above we can draw the following conclusions :

(i) On the eve of the first Śaka invasion of India Jainism had its centres in Surāshtra and it was trying its expansion towards Avanti.

(ii) In the beginning there were differences between the Śaiva rulers of Ujjayini and the Jain missionaries, which ripened into an open conflict.

(iii) The insulted and injured Jain saint sought the help of Śakas, who were on move towards India against the ruler of Avanti.

(iv) The Śakas had a temporary success and conquered Ujjayini.

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[1] Cf. Nisitha-sutta with Churni, 10th Uddesa, cited in the Abhidhana-rajendra, vol. I, p. 582; J. B. O. R. S. XVI. p. 293.

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(v) The son and successor of the then Śaiva ruler, Vikramāditya, soon afterwards, drove the Śakas out, freed the country from foreign oppression and founded his own era.

(vi) Then followed an era of perfect peace and prosperity, extending over 135 years. During this period the family of Vikramāditya ruled at Ujjayini.

(vii) At the expiry of the above period, the Śakas renewed their invasions of India, dislodged the family of Vikramāditya from Ujjayini and founded their own era.

We see here that the Kālakāchārya-kathā contained in the Prabhāvaka-charita confirms the chronology of the Pattāvalis and the Jain Harivaṁśa, besides supplying other pieces of historical material.

It will not be out of place to quote a few authentic opinions on the episode of Kālakāchārya in the Prabhāvaka-charita. Rapson opines :

"The memory of an episode in the history of Ujjayini ......may possibly be preserved in the Jain story of Kālaka ......The story can neither be proved nor disproved ; but it may be said in its favour that its historical setting is not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of Ujjayini at this period. A persecuted party in the state may well have invoked the aid of the warlike Śakas of the Śakadvipa in order to crush a cruel despot ; and as history has so often shown, such allies are not unlikely to have seized the kingdom for themselves. Both the tyrant Gardabhilla whose misdeeds were responsible for the introduction of these avengers, and his son Vikramāditya, who afterwards drove the Śakas out of the realm, according to the story, may perhaps be historical characters". [1]

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[1] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 532-33

A more assertive view is expressed by Franklin Egerton :

"I am not aware that there is any definite and positive reason for rejecting the Jainistic chronicles completely, and for saying categorically that there was no such king as Vikrama living in 57 B. C. Do we know enough about the history of that century to be able to deny that a local king of Malava, leaving one of the names by which Vikrama goes, may have won for himself a somewhat extensive dominion in central India...? It does not seem to me?..that Kielhorn has disproved such an assumption. And I know of no other real attempt to do so."[1] Egerton further adds :

"It seems on the whole at least possible, and perhaps probable, that there really was a king named Vikramāditya who reigned in Malava and founded the era of 58-57 B. C."[2]

The famous archaeologist Stenkonow regards the episode of Kālakāchāryas perfectly historical. He says :

"I cannot see the slighlest reason for discrediting this account, as is usually done, because most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore. Almost every detail can be verified from other sources. A Śaka empire in the Indus country is, as we have seen, known from classical sources. Ptoelmy speaks of the extension of the Śaka power to Kathiawar, and the use of the imperial title 'king of kings' among the Śaks is, as we shall see later on, attested by coins. And the Purāṇas speak of the Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhilla dynasty."[3]

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1. Vikrama's Adventure, H. O. S., Introduction, p. LXIV.
2. Ibid. p. LXVI.
3. Sten Konow, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II pat I, Historicol Introduction, p. XXVII.

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Even Vincent Smith, who was not prepared to accept the historicity of Vikramāditya during the early pariod of his scholarship, later on seems to have inclined towards the traditional view. He writes, "it is possible that such a Raja may have existed."[1]

Dr. A.S. Altekar[2], while accepting the partly historical nature of the Kalakāchārya-kathā, is not prepared to recognize the historicity of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.. He says:

"Though the story of Kālakācharya was written in the thirteenth century, it can be said with certainty that it contains historical materials in a good quantity. History confirms the story that Sindh was under the rule of the Śakas in the first century B.C.. It is also certain that the Śaka kings were called Śahis. It is also possible that the Śaka kings occupied Kathiawad shortly afterwards. Historical documents support the fact that the territories under the Śakas extended up to Ujjayini. Therefore, according to the Kālakāchārya-kathā, it is also possible that the shortruled Śaka king of Ujjayini was driven out by a king named Vikramāditya.

"Yet, it is not established that Vikramāditya, after having defeated the Śakas in 57 B. C., founded the Saṁvat. The first thing to be noted is that the story was written in the thirteenth century and so it was influenced by oral stories. It is also evident that in the original story, handed down by tradition, the verses[3] to this effect were not there.

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[1] Oxford History of India (1919), p. 151.

[2] The Nagripracharini-patrika Vikrama-Number, V. S. 2000, pp. 85-86.

[3] शकानां वंशमुच्छेद्य कालेन कियताऽपि ह ।
राजा श्री विक्रमादित्यः सार्वभौमोपमोऽभवत् ॥
स चोन्नतमहासिद्धिः सौवर्णपुरुषोदयात् ।
मेदिनीमनृणां कृत्वाऽचीकरद्वत्सरं निजम् ॥
ततो वर्षशते पंचत्रिंशता साधिके पुनः ।
तस्य राज्ञोऽन्वयं हत्वा वत्सरः स्थापितः शकैः ॥ Kalakacharya-katba, verses 90—92.

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Later on, the poet composed these verses, drawing upon the current stories. The main current of the story is disturbed by these three verses. In the original story the description of the prowess of the Śaka king, who helped Kālakāchārya, an enemy of his country, is essential, but the defeat of the Śaka king by Vikramāditya looks irrelevant, because it obstructs the ripening of the original sentiment of the story."

It may be submitted that Dr. Altekar concedes the historical character of the Kālakāchārya-kathā. The only real objection that he raises is that the reference to Vikramāditya, victorious against the Śakas, disturbs the climax of the story. By this he means that the permanent sentiment of the story requires that it should end in the victory of the Śakas and the complete destruction of the family of Gardabhilla; the restoration of the Gardabhilla power under Vikramāditya militates against the natural catastrophe. It can be, however, pointed out here that Kālakāchārya desired that the Śakas should overthrow Gardabhilla and not that they should permamently occupy the country. The Śakas were very atrocious and they came to be hated very soon. So, to the Jain sentiment their overthrow was as welcome as the overthrow of Gardabhilla; rather more, as they were foreigners. Vikramāditya was the organizer of the national forces against the hated barbarous Śakas. Moreover, the Jains claim him to be a convert to Jainism. So his inclusion in the story, in no way, is irrelevant to its theme.

Besides the Prabhāvaka-charita, there are a large number of Jain works of biographical nature which deal with the life and achievements of Vikramāditya. Their list is extensive.[1] The most important of them are the following :

1. The Prabandha-kośa of Rājaśekhara Sūri
2. The Prabandha-chintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga Sūri
3. The Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha (author unknown)

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[1] Ref: Vikrama-smriti-grantha, V. S. 2001 ; Gwalior;

4. The Vikrama-charitra of Indra Sūri
5. The Vikrama-pañcha-daṇḍa-prabandha of Pūrṇachandra Sūri
6. The Vikrama-charitra of Devamūrti.
7. The Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśika of Kshemaṁkara.

The above works were written between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries A. D.. Being literary works, they suffer from embelishment and the insertion of fictitious details. But they all deal with historical figures and the kernel of the stories is historical and real. In them there are a number of imaginary stories about the heroism and romance of Vikramāditya, but they are all unanimous regarding the existence of Vikramāditya, his centre of activities in Avanti, the nature of his work and the high idealism of his life. A judicious use of these works can help us in the reconstruction of the history of Vikramāditya.

7. THE EVIDENCE OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

Many historians of ancient India doubt the existence of Vikramāditya, as, in their opinion, no archaeological positive data is available about him. They contend that no literary tradition should be accepted as a historical fact unless it is corroborated by an archaeological evidence. It is difficult to recognize the first part of their contention, as by recognizing it we shall have to reject the entire pre-Mauryan history of India which is impossible. Yet there is some force in the second part of the contention. The archaeological evidences, no doubt, corroborate or modify the literary traditions. Therefore, it is desirable to see whether archaeological researches carried on in Malwa, Central India and Rajputana throw some light on the existence of Vikramāditya or not.

(1) EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCES.

Archaeological discoveries, in the form of some epigraphs, made in Malwa and neighbouring areas throw welcome light on the problem. At Mandasor (ancient Daśapura) two epigraphes, dated 493[1] and 589[2] Mālava era, refer to an era current among the Mālava republic. In these epigraphs there occurs a significantphrase 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti.' Scholars have interpreted it differently. Kielhorn[3] took the term 'gaṇa' in the sense of 'gaṇanā' or 'counting of years'. The term 'gaṇa' might have some other meaning also was not thought of by scholars and they were doubtful regarding the existence of republics in ancient India. Later researches, however, revealed that there were republican states in ancient India, and the interpretation offered by Kielhorn was challenged and even rejected. K. P. Jayaswal[4] interpreted the phrase 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti' as an era founded to commemorate the republican constitution of the Mālavas'. Dr. A. S. Altekar[5] would prefer to translate the phrase Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā' as 'according to the era current in the Mālava republic' and "according to the usage of the Mālva republic." The first translation of Dr. Altekar is easy and natural; his second one is also acceptable unless it means that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the foundtaion of the era, as it was maintained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[6]

Fleet accepted that the Mālava era used in the aforesaid inscriptions was co-eval with the Vikrama era and was also idenentical with it. Since then it has been maintained with confidence and certitude that both the eras are identical. Some recent discoveries have revealed that the Mālava era

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[1] मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां ऋतौ सेव्यघनस्तमे ॥ Fleet Gupta Inscriptions. No. 18.

[2] मालवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु । Ibid.

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 326.

[4] The Journal of the Bihar aud Orissa Research Society, 1930

[5] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI (Unpublished)

[6] Bhandarkarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 191;

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was called Kṛta era in its early centuries. The Nandsa-sacrificial pillar inscriptions (very ably edited by Dr. A.S. Altekar [1]) disclose that the Mālava people, in the Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya (the territories of the Mālava republic, which was shifting according to their habitation), were using the Kṛta era. The inscriptions are dated 282 Kṛta era. The decided opinion of Dr. Altekar[2] is that the Kṛta, the Mālava and the Vikrama eras are identical. The kṛta era was so called, as it inaugurated an age which was figuratively regarded as Kṛta age .(Satyuga)

We learn from the above epigraphical researches that there was a Mālava era (previously known as the Kṛta era and identical with the Vikrama era), which was started to commemorate 'the constitution of the Mālava republic'. We are also informed by the astronomical and literary traditions that Vikramāditya founded an era in 57 B C. Collating and considering these two facts to-gether, it requires no strain on our imagination to think that Vikramāditya was associated with the Mālava republic. In associating Vikramāditya with the Mālava republic we have to explain only one fact. According to the Jain tradition he belonged to the Gardabhilla family. In the opinion of the present writer the Gardabhillas were one of the sections of the Mālavas. That the Mālavas were divided into sections and groups is proved by the Nandsa inscriptions, according to which the Mālava section, which was responsible for the sacrifices, was called Sogi. Thus the Gardabhilla, Sogi etc. were the various groups among the Mālavas. Therefore, Gardabhilla, the family name of Vikramāditya is no bar against his identification with a Mālava-gaṇa-mukhya (a leader of the Mālava republic). Similarly his being called a Rāja or ruling after his father need not present a difficulty. We know from the Nandasa sacrificial pillar inscriptions

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1. The Nandsa Yupa inscriptions.
2 The Sahyadri, October 1943.

that among the Mālavas of south-eastern Rajputana sometimes chieftainship continued for two or three generations together in the same family. That the title 'Raja' was borne by republican leadres in ancient India is a well known fact[1]. Besides, there are some literary evidences which connect Vikramāditya with the Mālavas and their republic :

(i) Merutungāchārya in his work Vichāraśreṇi, while describing the political history of Viśālā or Ujjayini, says, "After the lapse of 470 years from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (in 527 B.C.), having uprooted the family of the Śakas, there will be a Mālava-rāja, namely Vikramāditya."[2] The word 'Mālava' is evidently employed here in the sense of the Mālava people or the Mālava - republic and not in the sense of a locality, as the name of the locality Viśālā or Ujjayini is already mentioned. It is an important document which positively connects Vikramāditya with the Mālava people and sets at rest any objection regarding his identification with the Malava-gaṇa-mukhya responsible for the destruction of the Śakas and the foundation of the Vikrama era.

(ii) Another literary document which throws light on the connection of Vikramāditya with a republic is found in an old manuscript[3] of the Abhijñana-Śakuntala of Kalidāsa, dated1699 Vikrama era. Now it is in the custody of Pandit Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the department of Hindi,

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[1] The Arthashstra, XI. 1. 6.

[2] कालंतरेण केणवि उप्पाडित्ता सगाण तं वंसं ।
हो ही मालवराया नामेण विक्कमाइच्चो ॥ Quoted in the Pattvali-samuchchaya, Part 1, Appendix C. p 199.

[3] At the twelfth session of the Oriental Conference (Benares, Dec. 1943) this manuscript was produced by the present writer and shown to the distinguished scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Mr. K. N. Dixit, Director General of of Archaeology, India. In their opinion the manuscript was a genuine one and they had no reason to question its authenticity. It should be also observed that it contains archaic forms of several letters, which indicates that it was copied from a manuscript older than itself.

LUCKNOW.

Banaras Hindu University. The relevant extract are reproduced below :

(a) आर्येरसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः *श्रीविक्रमादित्यसाहसाङ्कस्याभिरूप* पडितंभूयिष्ठेयंपरिषत्। अस्याञ्च कालिदासप्रयुक्तेनाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-नाम्ना नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः। (नान्द्यते)

(b) भवतु तव विडौजा प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु।
त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं भावयेथा॥
*गणशत*परिवर्तैरेवमन्योन्यकृत्यै-
र्नियतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः॥ Act VII. 34

The words in the extract (a) printed in slanting letters clearly reveal that the proper name of the patron of Kālidāsa, the author of the drama, was Vikramāditya. His Viruda or title was Sāhasāṅka. Another important thing to be noted here is that no royal title is prefixed to the proper name Vikramāditya. The omission of any royal title cannot be due to the want of space or to the requirement of a metre, as the passage is in prose and not in verse. Here such an omission is significant. Evidently Vikramāditya was a republican leader and no royal title could be associated with him by a contemporary writer like Kālidāsa, who knew the implications of a republican constitution. It should be also observed that instead of a royal title a common honorific Śri is attached to his name.

The phrase Gaṇaśata (one hundred republics) in the extract (b) supports the deduction in the above paragraph that Vikramaditya was a republican leader. In this phrase the word 'Śata' is a round figure and it roughly means 'many.' This shows that Vikramāditya was connected with many 'gaṇas' (repulics). As it will be evident later on he was at the head of a confederation of many republics, which was organized to oppose and to drive the Śakas out. In some of the editions of the Abhijñana-Śākuntala we find 'Yugaśata' (a century of Yugas) instead of 'gaṇaśata'. The reading 'Yugaśata' is apparently wrong. If we accept it, it will be unintelligable as to how the actions of a ruler spreading over one hundred Yugas could please Indra in his own time.

(2) NUMISMATIC EVIDENCES.

Another branch of archaeology, Numismatics, not only throws light on the existence of the Mālava republic in the neighbourhood of Avanti-Ākara but it also helps in fixing the chronology of the first Mālava-Śaka war.

In Uniyar, a tributary jagir of the Jaipur State, at a town called Nagar, a pioneer archaeologist in India, Carlleyle himself discovered and secured from others a large number of very old small coins. He classified these coins on palaeographical basis and found that the earliest of these coins bore legends in ancient Brāhmi characters, reading 'Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ', Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ and 'Jayaḥ Mālavānāṁ'. The clear meaning of these legends is 'the Victory of the Mālavas' or 'the Victory of the Mālava republic. The later coins have legends in blurred Brāhmi characters. Carlleyle could not determine the age of the Brāhmi characters in which the legends are inscribed. He could not also identify the Mālavas with some historically known people. This task was attempted by Sir Alexander Cunningham.[2] He rightly approached the truth when he wrote to Carlleyle in his correspondence, "And the legends vary in alphabetical characters from, perhaps, B. C. 250 to A. D. 250. × × × I presume that Chitor and Ajmer and all that part of Rajputana must have belonged to the Mālavas. There are several and even many, coins that do not belong to this tribe, such as those which apparently begin with Maru and Magaja; but the great mass of your coins are of the Mālavas, with name variously spelt, and with different types. × × × I suspect that the Mālavas may be the Malloi of Multan." Rapson and Smith slightly differ from Cunningham and in their opinion

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1. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. VI, pp. 160-183.
2. Ibid, p. 182.

the age of the coins cannot be pushed back earlier than 150 B. C.. The latest limit of the earliest coins was fixed by Allan at 100 B. C.. If we compare the characters found at the earliest coins with the Asokan Brāhmi characters and the Kushan Brahmi characters, it becomes clear that chronologically they occupy an intermediate position and they are certainly later than the Asokan and earlier than the Kushan characters. It can be admitted, however, that on palaeographical basis no exact date can be assigned to these coins ; we can, at the best, determine the sequence and the approximate period. In the development of characters a margin of fifty years cannot be eliminated. Fortunately the legends on the coins are very helpful in the present case. The legends evidently point to the fact that the first issue of the coins was promulgated to commemorate the victory of the Mālavas over their some very dangerous enemies. This victory must have been a signal and very important one, because its memory was perpetuated for many centuries to come, as it is evidenced by the coins. Now the question is : Who were the enemies of the Mālavas and what is the date of their defeat by the Mālavas ? In search of an answer, our thought at once goes to the 'Constitution of the Mālava Republic' in 57 B. C.. Taking into consideration the localities where the coins and epigraphs are found, it becomes almost a certainty that the same event was celebrated by the foundation of an era and by promulgating 'the Victory Type of Coins.'

It is really remarkable that both Epigraphy and Numismatics converge and support each other. If we co-ordinate epigraphical and numismatic evidences with literary traditions, we can weave out a well-connected and coherent story : Vikramāditya, the leader of the Mālava republic and belonging to the Gardabhilla branch of the Mālava people, drove the Śakas out of India and recovered Ujjayini in 57 B. C. In order to celebrate this historic event an era was founded, which was first called Kṛta, as it inaugurated an age

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of peace and prosperity (Kṛtayuga) and later on was known as the Mālava and Vikrama era ; and a new 'Victory (Jaya) Type of Coins' were also issued.

8. THE EVIDENCE OF THE HISTORY OF THE MĀLAVAS.

Conclusions derived from the epigraphical and numismatic evidences are confirmed by the history of the migration of the Mālava people from the Punjab to Avanti and their existence in the first century B. C. in Malwa and its neighbouring area.

The history of the Mālava people tan be traced back to a time much earlier than the first century B. C.. In very ancient times the Mālavas were living in the Punjab. In the Mahābhārata in one place they are mentioned with the Trigartas[1] and in another place they are referred to with the Śivis and the Ambasṭhas.[2] We also know from the Mahābhārata that the Mālavas were related to the Madras[3], who were occupying the territories near about Sialkot. Trigarta is modern Kangra. From the context it appears that the Mālavas were surrounded by the Trigartas and Madras in the north-east Punjab and the Ambasṭhas and the Śivis in the north of Sindh. "They were occupying a gerat part of the southern Punjab including the district of Firozpur and Ludhiana and the states of Jhind, Patiala, Nabha and Malerkotla which is still called Malwa."[4] During the Mahābhārata war they fought on the side of the Kauravas.

Farly Sanskrit grammarians also refer to the Mālava people. Pāṇini[5], while illustrating the 'Āyudha-jivi-saṁgha' (the republican Ksattriya people living on the profession of arms), points out to the Mālava-Kshudrakas. The Kāśikā,

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[1] Dronaparva, 10- 17.

[2] Sabhaparva, 32- 7.

[3] The Mahabharata.

[4] The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVII, p. 105.

[5] V. 3. 114.

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a commentary on the Ashtādhyayī of Pāṇini, clearly states that Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were most prominent among the Ayudhajivi-Saṁghas. While commenting on one of the Sūtras of Paṇini,[1] Patañjali refers to the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas together in the instance of the Kshattriya-janapadas (territories occupied by the Kshattriya tribes).

The Mālavas, together with the Kshudrakas, are also mentioned in the accounts of the Greek writers who wrote on the Indian campaign of Alexander. They are called by the Greeks as Malloi and Oxydrakai respectively. They were occupying the territories between the lower Ravi and the Chinab. The two republics of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas formed one confederacy, which very heroically opposed Alexander, when he was retreating from the Punjab through the Jhelum. According to Arrian[2] they were the most numerous and warlike of the Indian nations in those regions of the country. Arrian[3] calls the Malloi a race of independent Indians. Alexander very narrowly escaped his death in his war with the Mālava-Kshudraka confederacy. The confedate army had a strength of 1,00,000. "The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army." "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations in India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition."[4] Owing to internal difference regarding the leadership of the confederate army the Mālavas and Kshudrakas were defeated by Alexander, but they survived their defeat. According to the Greek writers, the two concluded peace with Alexander, and sent "hundred ambassadors" who "all rode in chariots and they were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with inwrought gold and purple. The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear." The Mālavas were found proud of their 'liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate.

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[1] IV. 1. 164.

[2] VI. 4.

[3] VI. 6.

[4] Curtius, Bk, Ix. Ch, IV; Macrindle, Invasion of Indiaby Alexander, p. 234.

It is clear from the accounts of the Greek writers that the Mālavas escaped their destruction at the hands of Alexander the Great. But before they could revive their power and prestige, which were shaken by the Greek invasion, the province of the Punjab was occupied by the imperialist Mauryas and Śungas. Under the circumstances, the Mālvas could continue a subordinated and humiliated existence. A worse calamity fell upon the Mālavas when the Śunga power began to decline and the Punjab was subjected to the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks once more. They were faced with a grim problem. Should they remain in the Punjab, losing their independence and suppressed under the heels of the Greeks, or should they save their freedom as a people (or 'nation' in the Greek sense), though losing their original land, by migration in the search of a new home ? The freedom-loving Mālavas made the second choice. Under the pressure of the Bactrian Greeks, together with many other republican peoples of the Punjab, the Mālavas moved south-eastward for carving out a new independent state for themselves. The decline of the Magadha empire in the east during this period furnished welcome opportunities for these people.

The migratory route of the Mālavas can be traced through the south-eastern Punjab and north-eastern Rajputana to central India. In these tracts of the country a number of localities are associated with the word 'Malava' or some of its variations. The part of the Punjab to the south-east of the Sutlej river and the territories between Rajputana and Bundelkhand are called Malava by the local people, which shows that these localities were occupied by the Mālavas.

We know from the numismatic and palaeographic evidences that the southern part of the modern Jaipur state was occupied by the Mālavas in c. 100 B C.[1]. Their south-westward migration from this area in the first quarter of the first century B. C. brought them into Avanti. This was the time when the Śakas were knocking at the south-western gateway of India (the Bolan Pass). The hordes of the Śakas poured into India through Sindhu and Surāstra to Avanti and swept over everything before them. The Mālavas were dislodged from Avanti. But they did not lose heart and under the inspiring leadership of their heroic President Vikramāditya formed a confederacy of the republics which bordered Rajputana and inflicted a crushing defeat over the Śakas in 57 B. C. As a consequence of this great achievement of the Mālavas, the Mālava republic was re-constituted at Ujjayini.[2] It was to celebrate this great event that the Mālava Era (Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-kāla) was started[3] and the 'Victory Type of coins'[4] were issued.

After their reoccupation of Avanti the Mālavas ruled there for 135 years in glory and prosperity. At the end of this period they were again disturbed by the renewed invasions of the Śakas. The Mālavas were forced to leave Avanti and to move towards north-east. We learn from the Nandsa sacrificial pillar inscriptions (found in the Udaipur State) that in the last quarter of the third century Kṛta (Vikrama) era the Mālavas were occupying the south-eastern part of Rajputana. Still later in the time of Samudragupta, the first half of the fourth century A. D., they were almost in the same area.

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1. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. VI, pp, 160-183.
2. मालवगणस्थिति
3. In its early centuries it was figuratively called Krita era, 'a golden age.'
4. मालवानां जयः or मालवगणस्य जयः ।

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One of the most salient features of the history of the Mālavas had been their constant and tireless struggle with foreign invaders. In the Punjab they fought with the Greeks. In Rajputana and central India they continued their struggle with the Śakas. They proved a strong bulwark against them for 135 years. At the expiry of this period they suffered reverses at the hands of the Śakas, yet they survived as a republican people. But the new empire that was reared up by the Guptas ultimately devoured the Mālavas together with other republics of Rajputana and Central India. From the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya the Mālavas were no longer heard of in Indian history.

9. THE TESTIMONY OF THE ŚAKA MIGRATION.

The Śaka invasion of India in the first century B. C. is a fact, which has been universally accepted by historians. It has been also accepted that the invaders poured into India through the Bolan Pass and further advanced through Sindh. The Śakas could not have come through the Kabul valley. No trace of them has been found there. Among thousands of coins discovered by archaeologists in this area not a single Śaka coin has come to light. It is perfectly certain that the Kabul valley remained in the possession of the Greek princes even after the conquest of the eastern part of their dominions in India by the Śakas. The invading armies of the Śakas from Central Asia also could not enter India through Kashmir, as this route would have involved a physical impossibility. Under the circumstances, the only choice left with the Śakas was to select the route which lay through Ariana, south-west Afghanistan and Baluchistan. This route was a great highway associated with the Bolan Pass, which ran from the Parthian Provinces of Drangiana (Seistan) and Arachosia (Kandhar) through the Brahui mountains to the country of the lower Indus (Sindh). The Śaka deposits were so thick in Sindh and the influence of the Śakas was so marked there that the province came to be known as Indo-Scythia or Śaka-dvipa (the land of the Sakas)[1].

The upsurgence of the Śakas on the Indian scene was not an isolated event. It was a waue of the tribal migrations which took place in Central Asia. In the eighth century B. C. the original Scythians or the Śakas were on move and they left their deposits in different parts of Asia and Europe. One of their streams flowed towards south-west. But it was stopped in Bactria first by the Achaemenid Kings of Persia and later on by the Greek successors of Alexander. The Greek bulwark, however, did not last long. With the decline of the Greek power in Bactria the barrier against the barbarian inroads was broken and the pent up Śaka forces rushed towards the south.

The advance of the Śakas towards the south was linked up with another important event. The balance of tribal disposition in Central Asia was upset, when in the Can-su province of N. W. China a nomadic people, known to the Chinese historians as Yueh-chi, were defeated by the Hing-nu (Huns) in 165 B. C. The Yueh-chis driven by the Hing-nus marched towards the south-west and dislodged the Sakas from their home in the country north of the Jaxartes and forced them to more towards south-west. In the course of their stormy movement the Sakas swept away the Greek power in Bactria and were only checked in their westward march by Parthia.[2]

The course of the southward movement of the Sakas towards India is indicated in the following passage: "The main movement of the Śakas, impeded by Yavana (Greek) power in Kabul, would naturally be westward in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan. The tide of Scythian invasion no doubt had been flowing in these directions since the time when the Śakas were first expelled from their territories beyond the Jaxartes river by the Yueh-chi; for there is good evidence to show that the earlier Scythian settlements in Iran were reinforced about the time when the Śakas first occupied Bactria. The kings of Parthia who now held eastern Iran were engaged during two reigns (Phrates II, 138-128 B. C. and Artabanus I, 128-123 B. C.) in unsuccessful struggle with their Scythian subjects; the contest was only decided in favour of Parthia in the reign of the next monarch Mithradates II the Great (123-88 B. C.). Parthia had now taken the place of Bactria as the barrier which impeded the westward course of migrations from upper Asia. But the stream of invasion was only diverted into another channel; checked in Ariana, it forced its way along the line of the least resistence into the country of lower Indus (Indo-Scythia). The Śaka invasion of India like the invasion of the Huns between the fifth and the sixth centuries later, was but an episode in one of the great movements of peoples which have so profoundly influenced the history not only of India, but also of Western Asia and Europe."[1].

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[1] Thomas quotes a large number of authorities on this subject in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913, p. 635, notes I and 2.

[2] Cf. V. A. Smith, Early History of India (Fourth Edition), pp, 263-265.

10. SAKA HISTORY AND JAIN LITERATURE.

Historical traditions recorded in the Jain literature exactly tally with the above accounts of the movement of the Sakas and their invasion of India. According to the Prabhavata-charita, the Jain saint Kalkacharya, insulted by Gardabhilla, went to the banks of the Sindhu river, which were ruled over by the Śaka chiefs 96 in number. They were presented by their (Parthian) suzerain. To reap a revenge on Gardabhilla Kalkacharya advised them to invade Avanti and establish themselves there. Under this welcome advice the Śakas crossed the Indus river and invaded India in 72

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[1] Prof. E. J. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol, I, p. 567

B. C.. Almost an identical history is found in the Niśītha-sūtra with chūrṇi, 10th Uddeśa (cited in the Abhidhāna-Rājendra, vol. I, p. 582). The sūtra informs us that Kālaka went to Parasa-kula (or Saga-kula): There a Sāhi (Sāḍhi) was ruling. The latter had an over-lord Sahānuśāhi (Sāḍhāṇusāḍhi). The overlord (evidently the Parthian king) got angry with the Sāhi and demanded his head. He consulted Kālaka and under his advice he migrated to the country of India (Hinduga-desa) via Surāsṭrā and defeated Gardabhilla of Ujjayini.

It is also maintained in the Jain traditions that the first Śaka invaders of India were, after a short time, driven out by Vikramāditya, a son of Gardabhilla. It was inevitable that the first Śaka intruders must come into conflict with the republics of Avanti, Ākara and south-eastern Rajputana. It was a political tradition with the Indian republics to form a confederacy against imperial and foreign invasions. The Vajjis and the Mallas formed a confederacy against the Magadha Emperor Ajātaśatru. A similar confederacy was formed by the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas in the Punjab to oppose Alexander, the Greek invader. Against a common danger, the republics of Central India and Rajputana (Śata-gaṇa) formed a powerful confederacy under the able leadership of Vikramāditya, the Mālava-gaṇa-mukhya and they drove the Sakas out in 57 B. C..

11. CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages we have examined evidences derived from various sources—Indian Eras, Popular Stories, the Literary Traditions of the Hindus and the Jains, Epigraphy, Numismatics, the History of the Mālāvas and the History of the Śakas. When taken separately, they may not be conclusive and their authority may be questioned. But when they are set together they all converge towards the central fact—the existence of Vikramāditya in the first century B. C.—and thus establish the truth of Indian traditions about him. Available evidences lead us to the following conclusion.

(1) Vikramāditya is not a fiction but a historical figure, who flourished in the first century B. C.

(2) He belonged to the Gardabhilla branch of the Mālava people, who migrated from the Punjab to Avanti.

(3) He was the President of the Mālava republic (Mālava-gaṇa-mukhya).

(4) The capital of the Mālava republic in the first century B. C. was Ujjayini and Vikramāditya ruled there.

(5) He drove the first Śaka invaders out of India in 57 B. C.

(6) The Great event of the Saka defeat was celebrated by the foundation of an era, which during its early centuries was called Kṛta and Mālava Saṁvat and later on came to be known as Vikrama Saṁvat.

(7) To commemorate the success of the Mālavas against the Śakas 'Victory' type of coins were also issued.

(8) Vikramāditya was an ideal and popular ruler. He was a renowned patron of literature and art.

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CHAPTER II.

THE EXAMINATION OF SOME CURRENT THEORIES.

In the preceeding chapter we produced evidences and discussed their direct bearing on the historicity of Vikramāditya in the first century B. C.. To the Indians, not sophisticated with so called scientific historical knowledge, Vikramāditya was a real historical person, and there was absolutely no scepticism about his existence. But, as it has been said in the beginning of Chapter 1, many learned Indologists doubted the most current and time-honoured traditions regarding Vikramāditya. Denying his existence in the first century B. C., they tried to father the Vikrama Saṁvat upon some other kings of anceint India, who were known to them. In this attempt, they propounded novel theories, some plausible but many fantastic and absurd. In order to reinforce our conclusions in the preceding chapter, it becomes necessary to examine and assess these theories and to show that they are based on inadequate knowledge of the past of India, misleading and untenable.

1. FERGUSSON'S THEORY.

One of the earliest European writers, who attempted to identify the founder of the Vikrama era, was Fergusson. He propounded a very strange theory. In his opinion, what is called Vikrama era was really founded in 545 A. D. and not in 57 B. C., as it is supposed to have been started. He says that Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjayini won a decisive victory against the Huns at Korur in 544 A. D. and in order to perpetuate the memory of this great event he inaugurated an era. In order that the era might look time-honoured and respectable, he pushed back the date of its foundation by 6 × 100 (or 10 × 60) = 600 years in 56 B. C.[1] This view was sponsored by Max Muller[2] and enjoyed prominence for some time.

The theory of the learned scholar suffers from a number of defects and it cannot be accepted in view of the following objections :

(1) There was no king Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjayini in the sixth century A. D.. The only important king was Yaśodharman of Mandasor (=Daśapura). We find the eloquent descriptions of his exploits in two stone pillar inscriptions found at Mandasor[3], but there is no reference to his title Vikramāditya nor its use is proved by any other document.

(2) The founder of the Vikrama era was Śakāri (the Enemy of the Śakas) and not Hūṇāri (the enemy of the Huṇas) as Harsha Vikramāditya of Fergusson was. The Sanskrit writers clearly distinguished the Hūṇas from the Śakas. So, there was no chance of confusion between the two.

(3) The propounder of the theory does not offer any satisfactory explanation as to why the foundation of the era was pushed back by 600 years only and not by any other round of centuries.

(4) Several records dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat

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[1] The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, pp. 814 ; 1880.

[2] India, what can it teach us ?, p. 286 ff.

[3] Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions No. 33, 35.

preceding the time assumed for its foundation have come to light.[1]

2. KIELHORN'S THEORY.

The second great scholar who examined the questions connected with the Vikrama Era was Kielhorn. After making an elaborate analysis of the then available inscriptions dated in Vikrama and Mālava eras (which were regarded identical by him) he came to the conclusion that the Vikrama era was neither founded nor established in memory of any Vikrama, because the name of Vikramāditya was not associated with the era in its early centuries. He maintained that the era was called Vikrama, because it was started in Kārtika, the time of starting on wars (=Vikrama) in ancient India.[2] Fleet[3] accepted the opinion of Kielhorn for some time. But he failed to make a strong case for his theory. The following facts make his hypothesis untenable:

(1) An earlier name of the Vikrama era has been discovered, which is Kṛta and several records are dated in the era with this name. Now it has been recognized by eminent scholars that the same era had three names Kṛta, Mālava, and Vikrama in almost chronological order. The theory of Kielhorn cannot explain as to why the same era was called differently in different ages. The only possible reason seems to be one suggested by the present author in pages 5-9 of this work.

(2) No era is found in the world, which was named after a season noted for a particular type of action. Eras are universally founded either to commemorate the birth or death of a great man

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1. Vide ante pp. 1-5
2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. 19, 20-1891, pp. 403-404.
3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. 30. 4.

or to perpetrate the memory of a historic event. In view of this world-wide custom, the theory of Kielhorn appears to be very peculiar and does not appeal to reason.

(3) The non-existence of Vikramāditya cannot be proved simply because his name is not associated with the era for some reason or the other.

3 THE THEORY OF CUNNINGHAM AND FLEET.

The theory that the Vikrama era was really founded by Kanishka was first proposed by Cunningham and later on was defended and upheld by Fleet[1]. They placed the accession of Kanishka in the first century B. C. and they seem to have argued that an emperor like Kanishka, equally great in politics and religion, started an era, which was universally accepted by the people. The theory cannot be accepted in view of the following facts :

(1) Archaeological evidences—both epigraphical and numismatic—discovered in the Punjab and the North West Frontier provinces have proved to the hilt that the Kanishka-group of kings cannot be placed before the Kadphises-group of kings and, therefore, Kanishka's accession cannot be fixed in the first century B. C.[2]. Now the concensus of opinion among the scholars is either to place Kanishka in the second half of the first century A. D. or in the first half of the second century A. D.. Under the circumstances the very basis of the theory is knocked out and Kanishka cannot be regarded as the founder of the Vikrama era.[3]

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[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913, 637, 994 ff.

[2] See Marshall, JRAS, 1914, pp. 973 ff ; 1915, pp. 191 ff.

[3] A symposium was held on this subject. Fleet was supported by Kennedy, Barnet, and Longworth Dames : he was opposed by Rapson, Vincent Smith, Waddel and Thomas. See JRAS, 1913, pp, 911 ff,

(2) It has been shown, with reason, that the era used by the Kushaṇas was Saptarshi era, already current in the Punjab and Kashmir, with figures for hundreds and thousands omitted.

(3) Even if the objection number 2 be doubted, it has been found that the Kushaṇa era was a dynastic era which did not survive the Kushaṇa rule in India.

(4) The Kushaṇa era was started by a foreign dynasty in one corner of India, and it could not commend itself to the country as a whole.

(5) Almost all early records dated in the Vikrama era are found in South-east Rajputana and central India over which Kanishka had no jurisdiction. It cannot he explained as to why the era left its original home and shifted to these parts.

(6) Kanishka was not a universal monarch in India and he was not closely connected with the central life-current of the people. Mere politics and that is also short-lived, could not make an era popular and widespread.

4. MARSHALL'S THEORY.

Sir John Marshall propounded another theory, according to which the era of 58-57 B. C. was really inaugurated by Azes I, the Śaka king of Gandhāra.[1] He was supported by Rapson in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. The theory of Marshall was based upon the Taxila Copper-plate Inscription discovered by him. In this inscription the word 'Ayasa' occurs after the figure 136. It has been interpreted as 'in the year 136 of Azes.' Supposing that Azes I, the Śaka king ruled in the first century B. C., the era has been assigned to him. Unfortunately, the reading and interpretation both of the word 'Ayasa' are doubtful. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, the word 'Ayasa' is the Prakrit from of the Sanskrit word 'Ādyasya'; in that year there were two Āshāḍha' months and here the first Āshāḍha is referred to[2]. It is very risky to build any theory on the basis of such a dubious evidence. Besides, there are a number of objections which militate against Azes I being the founder of the Vikrama era :

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[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1914, pp. 973 ff-

(1) On the coins of Azes I found in the Punjab the legend runs 'Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa', but no date is given. On the Taxila Copper-Plate, where there is no lack of space, these titles are not found prefixed to 'Ayasa.' This one fact makes the identification of 'Ayasa' with Azes I highly doubtful.

(2) No other dated record is found which can be ascribed to him.

(3) There are no other records found in the Punjab which can be referred to the era founded in 57 B. C.

(4) There are no popular traditions about the greatness and achievements of Azes I.

(5) According to the Indian tradition the Vikrama era was founded in Malwa and not in the Punjab.

(6) There is a time-honoured tradition in India that the founder of the era was a 'Śakāri' (the Enemy of the Sakas) and not a Śaka himself.

5. V. GOPAL AIYAR'S THEORY.

Mr. Aiyar in his work 'Chronology of Ancient India' proposed the theory that the founder of the Vikrama era was Chāshṭana, the Mahā-Kshatrapa of Ujjayini. He writes, "The Saṁvat is essentially a Mālava era, as it is expressedly stated in the Mandasor inscription, dating from the epoch of the consolidation of the tribes of Malawa (Mālavānaṁ Gaṇasthityā .... Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, p. 79). It could not have been founded by the Kushan dynasty for the reasons already stated in my paper on the date of Kanishka. Moreover, it has not been shown that Kanishka's rule extended beyond Mathura and Banaras. No long-lived dynasty of any importance, except that of the Kshatrapas, is known in history as having ruled over Malwa, to justify being ascribed to it. When we remember these facts in connection with the statement of Rudradāman in the Girnar inscription to the effect that "the people of all classes came to him for protection and prayed to him to become their lord", we recognize that the independent tribes of Malwa and Guzerat elected him as their king just as they probably did his father Jayadāman and his grandfather Chashṭana, before him. It is a well known fact that these tribes of the west were famous even in early times for self-rule, for that is the significance of the statement of such an ancient work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, that "All the kings of the western countries are inaugurated to independent rule (Svārājya) and called svarāṭ". Now these independent tribes of Malwa, recognizing strength in union and making a virtue of necessity, for Chashṭana seems to have overthrown them already, combined together and elected him as their common king, and that great event, "the consolidation of the tribes of Mālwa" under one great ruler was most probably celebrated by the epoch of 57 B.C. which has since then been current therein. As Chashṭana and Rudradāman ruled from Ujjayinī over a number of adjacent countries, this Mālava era came to be adopted north of the Vindhyas".

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[2] Ep. Ind. Vol. ; Sten Konow, Ep. Ind. Vol, XIV.

The theory of Mr. Aiyar is based on a number of assumptions and is hardly worthy of acceptance. The assumptions implied in the theory can be given as follows :

(1) The first assumption is about the era mentioned in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman. It is dated in the year 72 of an era. Mr. Aiyar ascribes it to the Vikrama Saṁvat and assigns the year (72—57=) 15 A. D. to Rudradāman. This date for Rudradāman clashes with other chronological facts based on reliable evidences. In view of the Girnar and Kanheri inscriptions it has been maintained by the majority of scholars that Rudradāman was a contemporary and the father-in-law of Vasishhthīputra Pulumavi, a late king of the Andhra dynasty, who cannot be placed in the beginning of the first century A.D.. Rightly, the overwhelming majority of scholars have ascribed the year 72 of the Girnar inscription to the Śaka era founded in 78 A. D. and assign (72+78=) 150 A. D. to Rudradāman and c. 100 A. D. to Chashṭana, the grand-father of Rudradāman. In the light of the well established facts chashṭana cannot be regarded as the founder of the Vikrama era started in 57 B. C..

(2) Mr. Aiyar concedes that the Vikrama era is essentially a Mālava era, but assumes that the tribes of Malwa consolidated under the leadership of Chashṭana who had already overthrown them. It looks purile to believe that the foreign conqueror allowed the defeated tribes, just after their defeat, to organize themselves into a gaṇa (republic or federation). It was against all political sagacity on the part of Chashṭana. It is equally absurd to think that the tribes of Malwa were proud of their subordination to their Śaka overlord, and they commemorated this event by founding an era.

(3) The popularity of Rudradāman and Chashṭana

(assumed) is a mere political fake. Every foreign ruler justifies his rule by public declaration that it is solicited and needed by the people themselves. Popularity may have been possible in the case of Rudradāman in the third generation of the family, but it was impossible in the case of Chashṭana, the first foreign intruder in the country.

(4) Like Azes, Chashṭana was also a Śaka. All Indian traditions are unanimous that Vikramāditya was not a Śaka but a Śakāri (the Enemy of the Śakas). So, no Śaka can claim the title of Vikaramāditya, which invariably implies the expulsion of foreigners.

6. JAYASWAL'S THEORY.

In the opinion of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal "Vikramāditya of popular tales and Jain traditions was Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi".[1] The central feature in these traditions is the defeat of the Śakas. According to him, in the first century B. C., the two most important Indian successes against the Śakas were—(1) the defeat of Nahapana by Gautamiputra Śatakarṇī the Andhra king and (2) the defeat of the Śakas by the Mālavas. The combined forces of Gautamiputra and the Mālavas inflicted a crushing defeat over the Śakas. In this great and signal victory Gautamiputra Śatakarṇī took the leading part and so he was the real Śākāri Vikramāditya. The Mālavas shared this pride and in order to commemorate this event inaugurated the Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-kāla or the Mālava era. But, because the leader of this victory was Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī (Vikramāditya) his viruda (title) Vikramāditya was associated with the era.

There are a number of serious draw-backs in the theory of Jayaswal, which make it untenable:

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[1] Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 226-313.

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(1) The date of Nahapana and his nationality are not yet certain, but it is certain that Gautamiputra cannot be placed in the first century B. C.. According to the most satisfactory chronological disposition of ancient India the Kaṇva dynasty terminated in 28 B. C. and was followed by the imperial Andhra dynasty. In the Matsyapurāṇa list of the Andhra kings the number of Gautamiputra is 23. So by no stretch of imagination he can be assigned to the middle of the first century B. C. when the Vikrama era was founded. Besides, Hāla, the 17th king of the dynasty, in his Gāthā-saptaśatī, refers to Vikramāditya and his liberalities. Therefore, this Vikramāditya cannot be Gautamiputra, a king posterior to Hāla in the geneology of the family.'

(2) Neither the Purāṇas nor the inscriptions of the Āndhra dynasty disclose that Gautamiputra, or as a matter of fact any other Andhra king, bore the name or title of 'Vikramāditya.

(3) The Andhra kings do not use the Vikrama era or any other continuous era; rather their records are dated in their regnal years.

(4) The Mālavas, in the first century B. C., were not contemporary of Gautamiputra, so they could not share the victory over the Śakas with him. We know from the Nasik inscription of Gautami Bālaśri that Gautamiputra defeated the Mālavas later on.

(5) According to the Indian traditions Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī, where as Gautamiputra was a king of Pratishṭhāna.

(6) In some of the Jain sources Śālivāhana (Śātavāhana = Andhra) is described as a rival and

enemy of Vikramāditya.[1]

7. BHANDARKAR'S THEORY.

The most serious theory so far propounded is one that seeks to identify Vikramāditya with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty, who ruled from c. 375 A. D. to 413 A.D. at Pātaliputra (Patna). This theory was first proposed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and later on it was accepted by V. A. Smith,[3] Berriedale Keith[4] and a host of Indian historians. Some scholars slightly differed from Bhandarkar and suggested the identification of Vikramāditya with either Samudragupta or Skandagupta of the Gupta dynasty, but following in the main the same lines of arguments as advanced by Bhandarkar.

The first part of Dr.Bhandarkar's theory is destructive.[5] After supposing to have refuted the views of C. V. Vaidya (Indian Review, December, 1909) and Harprasad Shastri (Epigraphia Indica, XII, 230) based on a reference to Vikramāditya in the Gāthāsaptaśati of Hāla (V. 64), he thought that he had succeeded in refuting the existence of Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. and in transporting him to the world of legends. The learned scholar altogether ignored the mass of evidences relevant to the enquiry into the problem of Vikramāditya. It has been shown in the preceding chapter how the objections raised by Bhandarkar against the evidence of the Gāthāsaptaśati are faulty and unconvincing.[6]

The constructive part of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory is based on resemblances beetween the traditions about Vikramāditya and the glorious history of the Guptas. His arguments advanced in support of his theory are almost the same as those produced by his supporters. It will not serve any useful purpose to deal with the scholars of this school individually. They can be examined roundly to-gether. Their arguments can be given as follows ;

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[1] Puratana-Prabandha-Sangraha.

[2] JBBRAS, XX, 1900, p. 398.

[3] Early History of India, 3rd ed., 1914, p. 290 ff.

[4] JRAS. 1909 p 433.

[5] Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp, 187 ff,

[6] Vide Suptra p. 12

(1) The earliest historical Vikramāditya (whose historicity has been proved by epigraphical and numismatic evidences) is Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the famous imperial Gupta dynasty.

(2) Chandragupta II conquered Western and North-Western India and drove the Śakas out of the country, which justified his title 'Śakāri'.

(3) Chandragupta II bore the title of Vikramāditya.

(4) Because Chandragupta II conquered Malwa, his name was associated with the Mālava Saṁvat which was started in 57 B. C..

(5) The second capital of Chandragupta II was Ujjayinī, which he conquered from the Śakas.

(6) The glory and splendour of the Gupta age are reflected in the works of Kalidāsa, who was a court poet of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

Let us take these arguments one by one and see how far they justify the claim of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya to be identified with the Vikramāditya of Indian traditions.

(1) Simply because Chandragupts II of the Gupta dynasty has left epigraphical and numismatic records behind him, he cannot be regarded the earliest Vikramāditya. For proving the existence of a person literary evidences are equally important, and the original Vikramāditya of the first century B. C. has left a huge mass of literary traditions behind him. Many distinguished figures of Indian history (pre-Aśokan) have not left any epigraphical or numismatic evidence and they are known only from literary traditions, but their historicity cannot be questioned. Why then the historicity of Vikramāditya be made the subject of a controversy? The authenticity of the literary traditions cannot be doubted because many of them were compiled and written late. Therefore, the epigraphical and numismatic evidences, no doubt, establish the existence of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, but they cannot negative the existence of the Vikramāditya of 57 B. C. who is known from the other sources of information.

(2) Chandragupta II's couquest of the Śakas refers to their final defeat in India in the last quarter of the fourth century A. D.. But long before it in the first century B. C., according to the Indian traditions supported by Śaka history, the Śakas were defeated by a confederacy led by Vikramāditya, as a result of which India enjoyed peace for (57 + 78 =) 135 years till the second Śaka invasion, just as she enjoyed peace after the final Śaka defeat till the Hūṇa invasions. So, Chandragupta II may be called Śakāri for the same reason, as the Vikramāditya of the first century was called Śakāri.

(3) Vikramāditya was the personal name of an early ruler of Ujjayinī. His virudas or epithets were Vishamaśīla, Sāhasānka and Śakāri. Chandragupta II and other Gupta kings (Samudragupta and Skandagupta) bore the litle 'Vikramāditya', but it was not their proper name. The assumption of the title 'Vikramāditya' in the fourth

century A. D. presupposes the existence of the name of Vikramāditya in earlier times, which set an example to be followed by later kings. We have parallel instances in European history. Originally personal names Caesar, Alexander and Napoleon and Kaiser were used as titles by latter rulers of Europe. The model for the Guptas and still later kings of India was the Mālava Republican Leader Vikramāditya, who flourished in the first century B. C.

(4) The Gupta kings had their own era which was founded by Chandragupta I in 319-20 A. D. In all their official records we find the Gupta era being used.[1] The records of Chandragupta II himself discovered in Central India are dated in the Gupta saṁvat. The Girnar inscription of Skandagupta is dated in the Gupta era 138. When the Gupta power began to decline and finally disappeared in Malwa, the era used is the Mālava era in its own right, without being associated with the name of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. A Mandasor inscription[1] refers to the building of a temple in the reign of Kumāragupta I[2], but the event is dated in the Mālava era 493[3]; the restoration of the same temple is dated in the Mālava era 529[4] Immediately after the end of Gupta regime in Malwa the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman is dated in the Mālava Saṁvat 589.[5] This fact refutes the assumption that the name of Chan-

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[1] Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, No 18.

[2] कुमारगुप्ते पृथ्वीं प्रशासति । Ibid.

[3] मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानामृतौसेव्यघनस्तने ॥ Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions No. 33.

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dragupta II Vikramāditya was associated with the Mālava era. Further, the Kaṇaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa found in the Kota State is dated in the era of the Mālava lords 795,[1] and the Gyaraspur inscription found in the Gwalior State is dated in the Mālava kāla 936[2]. When the Gupta kings had their own era, and did not use the Mālava era in their records, immediately after their fall in Malwa the era used there is the Mālava Saṁvat and the Mālava Saṁvat survived the Gupta empire in the nighbouring areas, it really passes beyond one's comprehension how the title 'Vikramāditya' of Chandragupta II or any other gupta king came to be associated with the Mālava era ?

(5) According to all Indian traditions the seat of the power of Vikramāditya was Ujjayinī. The Gupta emperors were essentially the lords of Pātaliputra ; Ujjayinī was, at the best, their provincial headquarter, where the viceroys or governors ruled. But for this reason, the Gupta emperors cannot be called the lords of Ujjayinī or Avanti. The great Moghal emperors had their provincial head-quarters, and temporary residence, at Agra, Lahore, Ajmer and Shrinagar but they were still called 'the lords of Delhi' and not those of provincial capitals.

(6) The glory and splendour of the age reflected in the works of Kālidāsa do not necessarily belong to the Gupta period. No doubt, Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Vikramāditya, but his Vikramāditya, according to Indian traditions, was the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat in 57 B. C. and he ruled at Ujjayinī and not at Pātaliputra.

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1. Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 59.
2. Arch. Sur. Report, vol. X, plate II,

A great injustice has been done to Indian traditions by dragging Kālidāsa to the Gupta period and, then, using it as a proof of the existence of Vikramāditya in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. covered by the prosperous reigns of the Gupta emperors. It will not be out of place to consider the arguments advanced in support of the theory that Kālidāsa belonged to the Gupta period:

(1) *The Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature* Max-Muller started the theory of the Renaissance of the Sanskrit Literature' in the sixth century A. D.[1] According to him India was subjected to foreign domination from the first century B. C. to the third ; from the fourth century B. C. to the third century A. D.. Buddhism was predominant in the country ; Brahmanical religion and literature were suppressed and there was no scope for the free and full development of the Sanskrit literature and poetry. So, the excellent poetic creations of Kālidāsa could not take place during this period. The great poet could have flourished only after the end of this barren period of literature. The revival of Brahmanical religion and literature took place under the Imperial Guptas. Under the circumstances, Kālidāsa and his Patron Vikramāditya must belong to this age. Even those scholars, who differ from Max-Muller regarding the theory of Renaissance, concede that the Gupta period saw the revival of the Sanskrit literature and that Kālidāsa, and with him his patron Vikramāditya, flourished during this period.[2]

(2) *Posteriority of Kalidasa to Aśvaghosha.* The Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha bears a close

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[1] India, what can it teach us ? (1883), pp. 281 ff.

[2] The History of Sanskrit Literature.

resemblance with the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, both the works being court-epics. On comparison it has been established that the Buddhacharita is inferior to the Raghuvaṁśa in literary merits. It is, therefore, supposed that Aśvaghosha flourished in an age when the Sanskrit Kāvya (poetic) style was still in its infancy, and Kālidāsa, coming later, imitated him and improved upon his model. According to the Buddhist traditions, Aśvaghosha was a contemporary of Kanishka, who is assigned either to the second half of the first century or the first half of the second century A. D.. Kālidāsa, who followed him in style and theme must have come later than him by, at least, a few centuries.

(3) *Mention of the Hunas.* Kālidāsa refers to the hūṇas in connection with the world-conquest of Raghu. It is said that the Huṇas invaded India for the first time in the middle of the fifth century, when they were repelled by Skandagupta. Indians became familiar with the Hūṇas after this event. The age of Kālidāsa, therefore, must be posterior to 450 A.D.[2]

(4) *Astronomical Data.* It is generally assumed by many Indologists that India came in close contact with the western world of Greece and Rome during the Kushāṇa period and it was during this period that she borrowed many astronomical principles from Greece and Rome. The works of Kālidāsa betray the knowledge of these principles ; therefore, he belongs to the post-Kushāṇa period of Indian history, and the only suitable period for him is the Gupta period.[3]

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1. E. B. Cowell, Introduction to the Buddhacharita of Ashvaghosha.
2. Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji, p. 49 ; Pathaka, Introduction to the Meghaduta, pp. vii ff.
3. Jacobi, ZDMG, XXX, 303 ff.

(5) *Political Data.* Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa describes the Digvijaya of Raghu on a large scale, implying the conquest of the whole of India and trans-Indus regions upto Persia and central Asia. Besides, his works reflect settled, peaceful and prosperous political conditions of the country. It has been maintained that the political picture drawn in the works of Kālidāsa is based on the extensive conquests of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and on the peaceful and prosperous reigns of the Gupta emperors.

(6) *Kalidasa's Contemporaneity with Varahamihira.* In the astronomical work 'Jyotirvidābharaṇa' ascribed to Kālidāsa it has been stated that the court of Vikramāditya was adorned by nine jewels, Dhanavantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Śanku, Vetalabhatta, Ghata-kharpara, Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira[1]. From another independent source, Āmaraja's commentary on the Khaṇdanakhādya of Brahmagupta, we know that Varāhamihira breathed his last in 509 Śaka era.[2] Kālidāsa being a contemporary of Varāhamihira must have lived in the sixth century A. D.

(7) *Reference to Din-naga.* In his Meghaduta Kālidāsa refers to Nichula and Din-nāga.[3] The learned commentator Mallinatha, while commenting upon these words, suggests that Nichula was an admirer and friend of Kālidāsa and Din-nāga (a Buddhist monk and writer) was a

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[1] धन्वन्तरिःक्षपणकामरसिंहशंकु वेतालभट्टघटखर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

[2] नवाधिकपञ्चशतसंख्य शाके (५०९) वराहमिहिराचार्यो दिवं गतः ।

[3] स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन्स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥ पूर्वमेघ, १४ ।

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rival and detractor of the poet, at whom he wanted to hurl flings. On the basis of Dharmakirti's commentary on the Pramaṇa-samuchchaya of Din-nāga, the latter has been assigned to the fifth or the sixth century A. D. So, Kālidāsa should also be placed in the same period.

The arguments, produced above, in favour of the theory that Kālidāsa flourished during the Gupta period of Indian history (fourth century A. D. to sixth century A. D.) may be examined briefly as follows :

(1) The assumption that during the so-called Buddhist period of Indian history mostly dominated by Buddhist religion and foreign invasions and rule Sanskrit literature and poetry could not develop is wholly unwarranted. Brahmanism was not eclipsed either by the rise of Buddhism or by foreign invasions. Even the Buddhists were compelled to write in Sanskrit and many of the foreigners adopted Brahmanical religion and literature. It was during this period that the major portion of the Sūtra literature was produced; Patañjali wrote his Mahābhashya on Paṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī and the Manu-smṛti was codified under the regime of the Śungas[1] in the second century B. C. ; several parts of the Māhābhārata and the Ramāyaṇa were composed. In the Mahābhāshya a number of passages have been quoted, the language, the style and the meters of which are those of the Kāvya style.[2] The Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman (second century A. D.) is written in Sanskrit prose of the Kāvya style and contains all the good qualities of the Vaidarbhi Riti[1]. The use of the poetic style in prose presupposes the existence of Kavyas in verse, which were imitated by the prose-writers. It is also known that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was composed during the Andhra period, and it is admitted by all that Aśvaghosha wrote his Buddhacharita during the Kushāṇa period. A period of such literary activities cannot be regarded as an age of suppression for Sanskrit literature. Thus Kāvya style evolved much earlier than Gupta period and the creation of the works of Kālidāsa was not an impossibility in the first century B.C.[2]

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[1] K. P. Jayaswal, Manu and Yajnavalkya.

[2] Kielhorn, Introduction to the Mahabhashya.

(2) The line of contention followed here is entirely against the course of the development of the Buddhist literature. It is a well known fact that the early Buddhist literature was produced in Pali Prakṛit for the consumption of the masses. The Buddhist writers, in the course of time, realised that Sanskrit was a more refined and effective medium of expression than Prakṛt and they began to write in Sanskrit language on the model of literary Sanskrit works. This tendency became prominent with the rise of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Aśvaghosa's composing a Buddhist Kāvya in Sanskrit presupposes the existence of a Brahmanical Sanskrit Kāvya to serve him as a model. The close resemblance between the Buddhacharita and the Raghuvaṁśa indicates that the latter was used as a model for the former. If the Buddhacharita is inferior to the Raghuvaṁśa, it is the fault of an imperfect imitation. A superb poetic genius like Kālidāsa could not select the Buddha-

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[1] Epigraphia India, Vol. VIII.

[2] Cf. Dr. G. Buhler, Indian Antiquary, 1913 ; Kielhorn; Indo. Vol. XIV, p. 326.

charita as a model. Moreover, Kālidāsa respectfully refers to poetic geniuses, who flourished before him—Bhāsa, Saumilla etc.,[1] but he does not mention Aśvaghosa. This omission points to the non-existence of Aśvaghosa before Kālidāsa. In view of these considerations Kālidāsa cannot be placed after Aśvaghosa. He must have existed some centuries earlier to set a model to be followed by later writers.

(3) The mention of the Hūṇas has been miscontrued. In the description of the world-conquest of Raghu they are mentioned in the list of peoples defeated by Raghu and not as invaders or conquerors of India. They are also located outside India. It is known from the Chinese history that the Hūṇas had built up a powerful empire beyond Bactria from the middle of the third century B. C. to the middle of the first century A. D.[2] The Hūṇa empire was just on the threshhold of India and the Indians were familiar with the Hūṇas. To suppose that the Indians had no knowledge of peoples outside India is to do scant justice to the geographical and racial knowledge possessed by them.[3] The Pārasikas, the Pahlavas, the Pāradas, the Śakas the Hūṇas, the Kambojas, the Kirātas, the Chinas—the neighbouring peoples of India were very well known to them. Kālidāsa makes fine distinctions between the Parasikas, the Hūṇas and the Kambojas and gives their peculiar characteristics[4]. It is perfectly justified to conclude that

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[1] प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविमिश्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य. Malavikagnimitra, Introduction.

[2] Gultzlaff ; History of China, 1834, pp. 220-249,

[3] Cf, Reference to various races and peoples in the Mahabharata.

[4] The Raghuvansa, IV, 60-70.

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Kālidāsa, while referring to the Hūṇas, was drawing upon his knowledge of the tribal dispositions of central Asia in the first century B. C., and he cannot be dragged to the fifth or the sixth century A. D., simply because he makes a reference to the Hūṇas.

(4) That the Indians had no mental aversion to borrow sciences and arts from foreigners is an undoubted fact, but the time for borrowing astronomical principels has been brought down without justification. The arguers forget the fact that the Greeks and Romans themselves borrowed astronomical and astrological Principles from the Chaldians and the Babylonians in 700 B C. The Indians had direct contact with these middle-east countries much earlier than the advent of the Greeks in India (326 B. C.), and there was nothing to prevent them from learning astronomical knowledge from them. The resemblance between Indian and Greek astronomical principles is due to their common origin[1]. The Rāmāyaṇa, which was composed earlir than the first century B. C., contains advanced knowledge of astronomy.[2] Kālidāsa refers to an astronomical term, Jamitra, which has been identified with the Greek term 'diametron'. But some scholars have also suggested that these two terms may have independent origin, or 'diametron' may be a Greekised form of the Sanskrit word 'Jamitra'.[3] Kālidasa is also not indebted to Aryabhatta (476 A. D.) for his astronomical references, because he was not

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[1] Cf. S. V. Dikshit, Early History of Indian Astronomy, 137-139. Max Muller, India, what can it teach us ? p. 327

[2] Balakanda, Sarga 18. 9 , 15 ; Ayodha kanda. 1 , 3.

[3] S. P. Pandit, Introduction to the Raghuvamsa,

dealing exactly with scientific principles, but pointing to current notions of astronomy, which were formulated later on.

(5) The conclusion drawn from the political data is also arbitrary. Kālidāsa wrote a Mahākāvya and not exactly a contemporary history of his time. The conquests scored by Samudragupta and Chandragupta fall short of Raghu's Digvijaya. The descrption of Raghu's conquests is partly traditional, partly based on the wide conquests of the Mauryas and the Śungas and the Dharmavijaya of Vikramāditya. Peace and prosperity of the country was not peculiar to the Gupta period. The major portion of the Śunga period was quite peaceful. As a result of the political and military achievements of Vikramāditya also India enjoyed freedom from foreign domination and peace and prosperity for about one hundred and thirtyfive years between the foundation of the Vikrama era in 57 B. C. and the second Śaka invasion in 78 A. D. The tragic and abrupt end of Raghu's family in the nineteenth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa and the description of the great debauch Agnivarma, the last king of the family, recalls the conduct and the tragic fate of the 'over-libidinous' Devabhuti, [1] the last king of the Śunga dynasty. Kālidāsa was familiar with these political movements and events which were reflected in his works. It is not necessary to identify the events of the Gupta period with those described in the works of Kālidāsa.

(6) There are scholars, who accept the testimony of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa, regarding the contempo-

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[1] अतिस्त्रीसंगरतमनंगपरवशं शुङ्गम्............Harṣhacharita. VI, p, 199 ;
देवभूतिं तु शुङ्गराजनं व्यसनिनं...........Visnu-purana, IV, 24, 39,

raniety of Kālidāsa with Varāhamihira, and relying on the evidence of Āmarāja that Varāhamihira died in 509 Śaka, bring Kalidāsa down to the fifth or the sixth century A. D.. There are some other scholars, who reject the ascription of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa to Kālidāsa, taking it to be a late work, and brush aside the evidene contained in it. In the opinion of the present writer, though the work in question is late, it contains an old and genuine tradition. Under the circumstances, we have either to reject the tradition of Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. or we have to set aside the evidence of Āmarāja. But before doing so it is advisable to inquire whether the Śaka era used by Āmarāja in the case of Varāhamihira is the same as founded in 78 A. D. or some other Śaka era, which was known in the astronomical school of Varāhamihira and which was most probably referred to by Āmarāja. In this connection the following verses of Varāhamihira are very useful :

ध्रुवनायकोपदेशान्नरिनर्तीवोत्तरा भ्रमद्भिश्च ।
यैश्चारमहं तेषां कथयिष्ये वृद्धगर्गमतात् ॥
आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्द्विक् पञ्चद्वियुतः (२५२६) शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥

Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XIII, 2, 3.

From the last line of the second verse quoted above it is evident that the difference of time between the starting of the Yudhishṭhira era and the foundation of the Śaka era referred to here was one of 2526 years. The current year according to the Yudhishṭhira era is 5047. The Śaka era mentioned above, therefore, was inaugurated (5047—2526=) 2521 years ago or 518 years before the foundation of the Vikrama era. According

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to Āmarāja Varāhmihira died in 509 Śaka era; so this event took place 518—509 = 9 years earlier than the beginning of the Vikrama era. The first verse quoted above also indicates that the Śaka era starting in 518 pre-Vikrama year was known to Vṛddha-garga, the author of the Gārgi-Saṁhitā, who flourished during the Śunga period. Thus, by referring the era used by Āmarāja to this Śaka era, we can place both Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa in the first century B. C. While recording an old tradition, Āmarāja might have committed an error of a few years, which is not unlikely in such cases. One may, therefore, be permitted to regard the two celebrities as contemporary and adorning the assembly of Vikramāditya.

That Varāhamihira cannot be placed in the fifth or sixth century A. D., is shown by internal evidences contained in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā composed by him. The territorial divisions of India with reference to Madhyadeśa are detailed in this work, which do not fit in with the territorial divisions known from the epigraphical records of the Gupta period.

(7) In the Meghadūta the natural meaning of the word 'Nichula' is 'a kind of tree' and that of 'Diṅ-nāga' is 'a quarter-elephant' or 'Dik-pāla'. The cloud-messenger was advised by the Yakśa to take rest under the Nichula trees, and to avoid the waving trunks of the quarter-elephants. The reference to Nichula and Diṅnāga as persons in a figment of the imagination of the commentator Mallinātha cannot be taken seriously, especially in the view of the fact that Kālidāsa is not noted for such references.

No poet or patron of the name of Nichula can be traced in the history of the Sanskrit literature and Diṅ-nāga is only very vaguely hinted in the Buddhist works and the writer Diṅ-nāgāchārya whose extinct work was commented upon by Dharmakīrti, whose work is also missing. But even supposing that Din-nāga was a person, it is only suggested that he flourished before Dharmakirti; no definite date can he assigned to him and Kālidāsa cannot be brougt down to the Gupta period.

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CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN AND ANCESTRY

1. GARDABHILLA FAMILY.

The literary works of the Hindus like the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī and the Kathā-saritsāgara do not throw any light on the origin and ancestry of Vikramāditya. They start the story of the birth of Vikramāditya with his father Mahendrāditya ruling at Ujjayinī in Avanti.[1] The Jain Pattāvalis[2] and biographical works[3] shed some light on this problem. According to them the name of the father of Vikramāditya was Gardabhilla. Gardabhilla is not a proper name but a family name. It is proved by the Puranic evidences. According to the Purāṇas[4] a family of seven (or ten) Gardabhilla (Gardabhin) rulers was amongst the ruling dynasties contemporary of the Āndhras. It is also supported by the Jain Harivaṁśa[5] which in its chronological history of Avanti mentions Rāsabha (=Gardabhilla) rulers whose total reign-period was one hundred years. From what we have said it becomes evident that the family of Vikramāditya was called Gardabhilla. Why was the family so called it is difficult to say. The Prabhāvaka-charita says that

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1. The Brihatkatha-manjari, X. I ; The Katha-saritsagara, XVIII. I.
2. The Pattavali-samuchchaya, pp. 17, 46, 150, 166.
3. The Prabhavaka-charita. pp. 22-25 (Kalakacharya-katha)
4. The Visnu-purana, XXIV. 4. 13 ; the Vayu-purana XXXVII. 352, 358 etc.
5. Chapter LX, verse 490.

Gardabhilla knew Rāsabhī Vidyā (Assine Trick) which wrought havock upon the foes[1]. This Vidyā appears to be some kind of military mechanism or military arrangement for which the Gardabhillas were famous and they were known after it. It is also likely that their army was strong in mule (=Rāsabha or Gardabha) regiment which gave its name to the family.

2. IT WAS A BRANCH OF THE MĀLAVAS.

That the Gardabhillas were a branch of a wider community of the Mālavas is known from a Jain work, the Vichāra-śreṇī of Merutungāchārya[2]. While giving the dynastic history of Viśālā (=Ujjayinī) it refers to Vikramāditya as 'Mālava-rāya' (the Chief of the Mālava people). That the term 'Mālava' is used in the sense of a 'people' is evident from the fact that the locality Viśālā, over which Vikramāditya ruled, is already mentioned in the text. We know from other sources that the Mālavas had such clans among them. According to the Nandasa Yupa inscriptions[3] "a fee of several hundreds of thousands of cows" (was offered) by Soma, the leader of the Sogis, son of Jayasoma, grand-son of Prabhāgra-vardhana, dancer at Victory born in Mālava stock, the family of the royal sages made famous and established by Ikshvāku........".This epigraphical evidence shows that 'Sogi' was one of the sub-clans of the Mālavas. Similarly, we can also take 'Gardabhilla' as one of the sub-clan of the Mālavas. Vikramāditya belonged to this sub-clan of the Mālavas, a people famous in Indian history[4].

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[1] The Prabhavaka-charita,

[2] हो ही मालव-राया नामेणं विक्कमाइच्चो ।

[3] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 118-25.

[4] The Malava origin of Vikramaditya is hinted in the Brihatkatha-manjari and the Katha-saritsagara also wherein Malyavan (=Malava), gana (= republican) of Siva incarnates himself as Vikramaditya,

3. THE ORIGINAL STOCK : SOLAR RACE.

We may further investigate into the question as to what stock of the Indian people the Gardabhilla-Mālavas belonged. The literary works do not worry about this problem. The Nandasa Yupa inscriptions simply regard the Mālava stock as 'a family of royal sages rendered famous by Ikshvāku'[1]. Ikshvāku was the founder of the Solar Race dynasty of Ayodhya. The phrase in the Nandasa inscriptions indicates that the Mālavas belonged to the Solar Race of the Kshattriyas. The early history of the Mālavas is found in the Mahābhārata. According to it the Mālavas were connected with important ruling Kshattriya dynasties of the time. The mother of Kīchaka, the brother-in-law of Virāṭa, was a Mālava princess.[2] The mother of Sāvitri, the queen of the Madra king Aśvapati was also a Mālava princess.[3] In the great Mahābhārata war the Mālavas fought on the side of the Kauravas. The matrimonial relations of the Mālavas with the Matsyas and the Madras show that they were regarded as one of the important Kshattriya clans of the Punjab in the time of the Mahābhārata. The Greek writers,[4] who describe the sanguine war between Alexander and the Mālava-Kshudraka confederacy, do not throw any light on the social status of the Mālavas. They make, however, pointed reference to the pride and prowess of these people. The pride of the Mālavas was regarded by the Greeks some times insolent but often dangerous to the invaders. The descriptions merit the Kshattriyas who were famous for their valour and chivalry.

4. THEIR POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH THE MALLAS.

We have so far traced the origin of the Gardabhilla-Mālavas to the Mālava people of the Punjab, with a vague suggestion that the Mālavas of Rajputana regarded them as the descendants of the Solar Race of Ikshvāku. In this connection it should be noted that the term 'Mālava' itself is not an original or primary word; on the other hand it is a derived word, suggesting that even the Mālavas of the Punjab branched off from some other community. The word 'Mālava', in the sense of descendants, can be derived from 'Malu'. But in Indian history no famous community was known as 'Malu'. May I suggest that the Mālavas branched off from "the Malla" people of the famous Malla-rāshṭra situated in the Gorakhpur division of the Uttar Pradesh? The first derivative from 'Malla' was 'Māllya' or 'Mālaya' which subsequently became 'Malāva'. Some support to this suggestion can be found in the coinage of the Mālavas. 'Mr. Douglas[1] has, with some certitude, shown that 'Malaya' or 'Mālaya' is the earlier form of 'Mālava'. It is also indicated by the Greek term 'Malloi' for the Mālavas. "The Greek form 'Malloi' stands for 'Malaya' and the correct transliteration of 'Mālava' would have been 'Malluoi'."[2] Mr. Douglas takes the word 'Mala' to be the name of a king, the founder of the Mālava tribe.[3] We know that the Mallas were the descendants of Ikhsvāku of the Solar Race. According to the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa[4], the epithet of Chandraketu, the son of Laksmaṇa, was Malla and he founded the Malla-rāshṭra wherein his descendants were called Mallas. The Solar Race origin of the Mallas is also approved by the Buddhist literature[5]. So, though it is not possible to take 'Mala' as the name of a king in Rajputana, the Mālavas of Rajputana and Malawa can ultimately be traced to the Mallas of the

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[1] इक्ष्वाकुप्रथितराजर्षिवंशे मालववंशे ।

[2] The Mahabharata, V.

[3] Ibid,

[4] Curtious, Bk. IX. Ch. IV: Macrindle, Invasion of India by Alexander, p 234

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[1] On some Malava coins, pp, 42-47 (Numis. Sup, No. 37)

[2] Ibid

[3] Ibid

[4] चन्द्रकेतोश्चगल्लस्य मल्लभूम्यां निवेशिता
चन्द्रकान्तेति विख्याता दिव्या स्वर्गपुरी यथा ॥ VII 102. 9

[5] The Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta ; the Divyavadana.

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Gorakhpur division. Most probably a branch of them migrated from there to the Punjab much earlier than the period of the Mahābhārata and became the ancestor of the Mālavas. This fact was remembered by the Mālavas and it found expression in the Nandasa Yupa inscription of the third century of the Kṛta (=Vikrama) era[1].

5. THE SUGGESTION OF FOREIGN ORIGIN.

The misreading of some late Mālava coins belonging to the second and third centuries A. D. has led to a fantastic suggestion that the Mālavas descended from a foreign stock. The coins in question bear blurred legends which cannot be definitely read. But some scholars have read on them some very queer names e. g., Bhapaṁyana, Magaja, Mahaga, Magajasa etc. If correctly read these names are un-Indian. On the basis of this doubtful reading V. A. Smith opined that these names indicated the foreign origin of the Mālavas.[2] Against this opinion a number of objections can be raised. The letters on the coins are very much blurred and they cannot be read with any appreciable amount of certainty ; in the opinion of Allan[3] either they were blundering legends or they were intended to stand for the original inscription, 'Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ. K. P. Jayaswal held that they were an amalgam of the initial letter of the name of the tribe, the clan and the leader. Even conceding that the coins bear personal names there is hardly any justification for regarding their orign as foreign. "The personal names in the coin legends are very peculiar and "are so many puzzles". Jayaswal's view that these are abbreviations seems to be the only correct interpretation. The names are surely 'odd', but to take them to be of foreign origin has no justification. The legends are in Brāhmi and in the language of the country; and if we accept

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI.

[2] Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Vol I, pp. 174-176.

[3] The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, p. Cviii.

Jayaswal's suggestion many of them, though not all, are found to be of Sankritic origin and perfectly intelligible."[1]

There is also a strong possibility that the coins under consideration, found in a hoard with certain Mālava coins, may not be Mālava coins at all and they might have travelled to their provenance from outside. On such unreliable eividence no theory can be built up. Moreover, in view of the evidence of the Nandasa Yupa inscription on the social status of the Sogi, one of the sub-clans of the Mālavas, to the effect that they belonged to the Solar Race stock of Ikshvāku, the view of V. A. Smith cannot be upheld. Again the Mālavas were known to Indian history much earlier than the first known foreign invasion of India.

There is, however, a strange statement in a very late Jain source. 'Vikramārka-sattva-prabandha' regarding the Origin of Vikramāditya. According to it Vikramāditya descendded from a Hūṇa family : "king Vikramāditya, son of Gandharvasena, born in the Hūṇa family, made the earth free from debts."[2] On the very face of it, the evidence is absurd. The Hūṇas never ruled over Ujjayinī. They entered India during the closing years of the fifth century A. D. and they were confined to eastern Mālwa in the first quarter of the sixth century A. D.. They were always regarded as a scourge of God and not as saviours of the country. The late confusion of the Hūṇas with the ancient family of Vikramāditya was, perhaps, due to the instrumentality of the Hūṇa ruling family in Rajputana, which wanted to annex one great man of India, who had a wide popularity in the country.

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[1] S K Chakrabortty, Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 194.

[2] हूणवंशे समुत्पन्नो विक्रमादित्यभूपतिः ।
गन्धर्वसेन तनयः पृथ्वीमनृणां व्याधात ॥ Compiled in the पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह, Singhi Jain Granthamala, No. 2.

6. PARENTS OF VIKRAMDĀITYA.

The parentage of Vikramāditya is given differently in different sources. It is shown in the following table :

	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī	Kathāsaritsāgara	Prabhāyakacharita	Bhavisya Purāṇa	Dvātriṁśatputtalikā	Popular Tales
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Father	Mahendrāditya	Mahendrāditya	Gardabhilla	Gandharvasena	Gandharva in guise of Gardabha	Gandharva sena
Mother	*	Saumyadarśanā	*	Viramati	Madana rekha (in Jain version)	*

From the above table it is clear that the most correct and official name of the father of Vikramāditya was Mahendrāditya. But he was also known by his family surname, Gardabhilla and his popular name Gandharvasena. The Dvātriṁśataputtalikā equates Gandharva (sena) and Gardabh (illa) and proves their identity. Three names of the mother of Vikramāditya are found. Of these Saumyadarśanā appears to be the proper name and the other two Viramati and Madanarekhā seem to be epiths or popular names.

Some scholars have tried to identify Mahendrāditya with the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, because the latter bore the title Mahendrāditya. But it should be noted that the proper name of the father of Vikramāditya was Mahendrāditya and it was not his title. Moreover, Kumārgupta ruled at Pātaliputra. Though he was the overlord of Avanti, he never used Ujjayini as his second capital ; it seems that Vidiśā, the capital of Eastern Malwa was more important than Ujjayinī in the time of the Guptas. We further know from the Kathāsaritsāgara that Vikramāditya was a belated child of Mahendrāditya; but it is a fact well-known that

Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I was advanced in years even when his father was alive. In view of these considerations the identification of Mahendrāditya with Kumāragupa I of the Gupta dynasty cannot be accepted.

Somadevabhatta gives a glowing picture of the prowess and liberality of Mahendrāditya: "There dwelt in that city (Avanti) a world-conquering king, named Mahendrāditya, the slayer of his enemies' armies, like Indra in Amarāvati. In regard of prowess he was a wielder of many weapons; in regard of beauty he was the flower-weaponed god (Kāmadeva) himself; his hand was ever open in bounty but was firmly clenched on the hilt of his sword."[1] According to the Jain sources and the Puraṇas Gardabhilla (=Mahendrāditya) was the founder of the Gadabhilla faimily in Avanti. This is in full accordance with the vague but suggestive description by Somadeva. Under his leadership a branch of the Mālavas, from S. E. Rajputana, proceeded towards S. W. and occupied Avanti.

Soon after the occupation of Avanti, Mahendrāditya (=Gardabhilla) was overcome by the first sweeping inroads of the Śakas and he had to go in wilderness[2]. But the lead he gave to the Mālavas created a tenacity of purpose in them and they never gave up the idea of reoccupying Avanti and creating a glorious history there under the new leadership of his son Vikramāditya.

The personal religion of Mahendrāditya was Śavism. This fact is supported both by the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara. This was the time when after the downfall of the Maurya empire Buddhism was on decline and both Brahmanism and Jainism were making headway towards Avanti. Conflict arose between the ruling family of the Śaivite faith and the preachers of Jainism. This

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[1] The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII. I. 9-13.

[2] The Prabhavaka-charita, Kalakacharyakatha.

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process of religious conflict finds expression in the Kālakāchārya-kathā, though the cause of conflict given therein is personal-the detention of the sister of Kālaka by Gardabhilla. The personal cause cannot be ruled out of possibility as forcible detention of attractive girls by Indian kings was not very uncommon, but there lurks a strong suspicion that the real cause was much deeper. The Hindu sources do not refer to the sensual character of Mahendrāditya, while they do not hesitate in depicting the sensual indulgence of many other Hindu kings. We have no direct evidence on the persecution of Jainism by Gardabhilla, but the differences between the two sects must have been there which brought Kālaka into conflict with Mahendrāditya. Kālaka, insulted and injured, sought help from the alien Śakas which resulted in the overthrow of Mahendrāditya.

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CHAPTER IV.

BIRTH AND EARLY CAREER.

1. BACK-GROUND.

The back-ground of the birth of Vikramāditya is painted in the same colour as is found in the case of all great men of history. The picture is very dark and divine intervention was sought to relieve the earth from distress. Both Kshemendra and Somadeva describe the miserable plight of the earth afflicted by the atrocities committed by the Mlechchhas :

"Gods led by Indra approached Śiva, sitting on the peak of the Kailasa mountain, and said, "O Lord, the demons, the sons of Diti, who were killed by you in the past are reborn again in the form of Mlechchhas. They have reduced the happy gods to straws. Now, you are the only refuge."[1]

"In the meanwhile, as Śiva was with Pārvati on the mighty mountain Kailaśa, the glens of which are visited by troops of gods, which is beautiful with the smile that the Northern Quarter smiles, joyous at vanquishing all the others, all the gods with Indra at their head came to visit him, being afflicted by the oppression of the Mlechchhas; and the immortals bowed, and then sat down and praised Śiva; and when he asked them the reason of their coming, they addressed to him this prayer : "O God, those Asuras, who were slain by thee and Vishnu, have been now again born on the earth in the form of Mlechchhas. They slay Brahmanas, they interfere with the sacrifices and other ceremonies and they carry off the daughters of hermits; indeed, what crime do not the villains commit? Now, thou knowest, lord, that the world of gods is ever nourished by the earth, for the oblations offered in the fire by Brahmanas nourish the dwellers in heaven. But, as the Mlechchhas have overrun the earth, the auspicious words are nowhere pronounced over the burnt offering and the world of gods is being exhausted by the cutting off of their share of the sacrifice and other supplies. So devise an expedient in this matter; cause some hero to become incarnate on the earth, mighty enough to destroy those Mlechchhas."[1]

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[1] The Brihatkatha-manjari, X. I. 8-10.

In both the above passages the agents of destruction were the Mlechchhas, who afflicted the earth, and the gods were only indirectly hit. It should be noted that the word used here is 'Mlechchhas' and not mythical 'Daityas' or 'Dānavas' (=demons). In Sanskrit literature the word 'Mlechchha' is used in the sense of an 'alien', as the word 'barbarian' was used in Greek for a 'foreigner'. It is clear that India was threatened by a foreign invasion. This foreign invasion in the first century B. C. was none other than one of the Śakas who swept off everything before them in Central Asia and the countries south of the Hindukush mountains. The historical fact of the Śaka invasion of India has found literary expression tinctured with supernatural elements.

2. THE BIRTH OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

To the dark back-ground of Śaka menace Mahendrāditya and the birth of his son Vikramāditya are relegated. According to the Kathā-saritsāgara[2] 'Mahendrāditya had to undergo various vows and penances' for a son. Mahendrā-

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1. The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII, 1.
2. XVIII. 1, 15.

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ditya's longing for a son coincided with gods' approach to Śiva. "When Śiva had been thus entreated by the gods, he said to them. "Depart; You need not be anxious about this matter; be at your ease. Rest assured that I will soon devise an expedient which will meet the difficulty." When Śiva had said this, he dismissed the gods to their abodes. And when they had gone, the Holy one, with Pārvatī at his side summoned a Gaṇa named Mālyavant, and gave him this order, "My son, descend into the condition of a man and be born in the city of Ujjayinī as the brave son of king Mahendrāditya".[1]

Three facts are suggested in the extract quoted above. First, Vikramāditya was a belated child of many prayers and he was born when his father was sufficiently advanced in years. Second, Vikramāditya was born in a gaṇa (republican form of state). The name of the gaṇa was Mālava. (Mālyavat = Mālya = Mālaya = Mālava).

"And when the due time was come, she (the queen) brought forth a glorious son who lit up the chamber as the rising sun does the heaven. And when he was born, the sky indeed became glorious, laughing with falling rain of flowers and ringing with the noise of god's drums. And on that occasion the city was altogether distracted with festive joy and appeared as if intoxicated, as if possessed by a demon, as if genrally windstruck. And at that time the king rained wealth there so unceasingly, that except the Buddhists no one was without a god (the word anīśvara when applied to the Buddhists, refers to their not beileving in a Disposer but its other meaning is 'wanting in wealth')".[2] The picture indicates that the birth of Vikramāditya was marked by overflowing festivities in which the people of Ujjayini freely and fully participated.

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[1] Ibid,

[2] The Kathasaritsagara. XVIII, I.

3. THE NAME AND THE EPITHETS.

According to the literary tradition recorded in the Kathāsaritsāgara Śiva suggested the name and the epithet of the child to his father Mahendrāditya. "And at that time the god, whose diadem is fashioned of a digit of the moon, said to that king in a dream, "I am pleased with thee, king, so a son shall be born to thee, who by his might shall conquer the earth with all its divisions; and that hero shall reduce under his sway the Yakshas, Rākshasas, Piśāchas and others, × × × and shall slay the hosts of the Mlechchhas; for this reason he shall be named Vikramāditya; and also Vishamaśīla on account of his stern hostility (towards his enemies)."[1] × × × "According to the instructions given by Śiva, Mahendrāditya, at the time of birth, with appropriate ceremonies, named his son Vikramāditya (the sun of valour) alias Vishamaśīla (of terrible behaviour to his enemies)".[2] The literary tradition informs that the proper name of the child was Vikramāditya and its epithet was Vishamaśīla. It is an important fact to be remembered in connection with Vikramāditya as a proper name and as an epithet. Many scholars generally confuse the two. But in the case of Mālava Vikramāditya, Vikramāditya was his proper name; in the case of the later kings, who assumed the title of Vikramāditya it was an epithet. Bisides Vishamaśīla, Vikramāditya had another important epithet, 'Sāhasāṅka'. This is known from some manuscripts[3] of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa and other sourees.[4] This epithet, however, must have been assumed later on after

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1. The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII. 1.
2. Ibid.
3. आर्ये, रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः श्रीविक्रमादित्यसाहसाङ्कस्य…।
4. व्योमार्णवार्कसङ्ख्याते साहसाङ्क स्यवत्सरे। Mahoba Fort Inscription, Indian Antiquary Vol- XIX, p. 179.

चतुर्भूतारिशीतांशु (१६५२) भिरभिगणिते साहसाङ्कस्यवर्षे। Setubandhatika by Ramadasa, Nirnayasagara, Bombay edition, 1935, p. 584.

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performing adventurous deeds for which Vikramāditya was famous.

4. EDUCATION.

Mahendrāditya made the best possible arrangements for the education of his son. Vikramāditya's education started after his tonsure and his first lessons were given in alphabets and numerals.[1] His serious schooling started at the time of his Initiation Ceremony (Upanayana) and being a precocious child he picked up knowledge in a very short period. "When he was invested with the sacred thread and put under teachers, they were merely the occasions of his learning the sciences, which revealed themselves to him without effort. And whatever science or accomplishment he was seen to employ, was known by those, who understood it, to be possessed by him to the highest degree of excellence. And when people saw that prince fighting with heavenly weapons, they even began to pay less attention to the stories about the great archer Rama and the other heroes of the kind."[2] The above passage shows that Vikramāditya received education in the arts of both peace and war. Proper attention was paid to his physical development also and he possessed a handsome, attractive and ideal body. In the description of the svayaṁvara of Indumati, while introducing various kings who had assembled there, Kālidāsa gives a very good pen-picture of the body of the ruler of Avanti (=Ujjayinī): "This is the king of Avanti having stout and long arms, an expansive chest, and a slim rounded waist, who (therefore) looks like the sun carefully trimmed by Tvashtri by being placed on a turning wheel."[3]

5. MARRIAGE AND WIVES.

According to the Kathāsaritsāgara, when Vikramāditya reached the marriageable age, a number of princesses were

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1. Cf, वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जीत । Raghuvaṁsha, III, 28,
2, The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII, 1,
3, The Raghuvamsha, VI, 32,

offered to him by the rulers who were subjugated by his father. Offering of princesses (Kanyopāyana) was not peculiar in this case. It had a political importance and was customary in ancient India.[1] So it was in the fitness of things that Mahendrāditya, who was able to establish a state in Avanti, arranged the marriage of his son with the daughters of the defeated rulers. Ruling aristocracy was fond of the luxury of a wide zenana and Vikramāditya welcomed a number of princesses into it. The number of wives was increased after the death of his father, during the course of his conquests, when distant kings presented young princesses to him in order to cement their subordinate alliance. Vikramāditya had at least seven wives of whom Malayāvati and Madanalekhā were most important.

6. A GREAT CALAMITY.

The young Gardabhilla family was budding but before it became firmly establisted and stable, a great calamity fell upon it in the form of a sweeping Śaka inroad. This event took place when Vikramāditya was still young under the tutelage of his parents. The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and the Kathā-saritsāgara both refer to the atrocities of the Mlechchhas before the birth of Vikramāditya. They, however, do not describe the defeat of Mahendrāditya by the Mlechchhas; rather, they depict him as the destroyer of his enemies. It appears that Mahendrāditya had some success against the Mlechchhas on the frontier of Sindh before the major calamity. But in view of the description of the earth's plight given in the above two works,[1] it is certain that Mahendrāditya was overpowered by the Mlechchhas. The Jain sources are very clear on this point. The Pattāvalis, the Niśithasutra and the Prabhāvakacharita, all record the defeat and expulsion of Gardabhilla (=Mahendrāditya) by the Śakas through the instrumentality of the Jain saint. Kālakācharya.[1] The Mlechchhas of the Kashmiri sources were no other than the Śakas of the Jain sources.

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[1] Seleukos offered the hands of his daughter to Chandragupta Maurya, Strabo, Bk, ii, Chap. ii ; Samudragupta received a number of Princesses, Fleet ; Gupta Ins. No. 1.

THE FIRST ŚAKA INVASION OF INDIA.

The calamity, which is referred to above, was the first Śaka invasion of India in the first century B. C.. This fact is independently established by the ancient history of China, Persia, Central Asia and the countries to the south of the Hindukush mountains.[2] It was the time when the Śakas had moved to Seistan and they had also occupied the trans-Indus part of Sindh. They were hard pressed by their Parthian overlord and they were in search of some new territories, where they could live in peace. This circumstance of the Śakas coincided with the religious dispute between the Jain preachers and the Gardabhilla king of Ujjayinī. But it was merely an incident in the migratory movement of the Śakas towards India. Kālakācharya wronged by Gardabhilla went over to the Śakas on the otherside of the Indus river (Sagakula) and induced them to come to India (Hindugdesa). The needy and the greedy Śakas were only too willing to come towards India. They crossed the Indus river by boats and first invaded Surāshṭra and occupied it. There is no reference to any conflict with the Indians and it appears to be an easy walkover for the Śakas. They, however, would not march headlong. They stopped in Surāshṭra built up a base and consolidated their power there and, after the rains were over, they started their invasion of the Mālava country. Gardabhilla Mahendrāditya was oblivious of the grave Śaka menace and appeared to be over confident of his power. He was taken almost unaware. No doubt, he fought bravley and stubbornly, but the speed and the number of the Śakas proved overwhelming. He was defeated and taken captive, but through the intervention of Kālakācharya he was allowed to go into exile.[1]

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[1] Vide ante pp. 28-31

[2] Vide ante pp. 46-48

7. Exile and Tribulation of Gardabhilla Mahendrāditya.

According to the Jain sources[2] Gardabhilla Mahendrāditya was exiled and in the course of his wanderings he was devoured by a tiger. Wanderings in wilderness by him was a fact, but his death by a tiger was a matter of inference, which is contradicted by the Brahmanical sources. According to the latter Mahendrāditya (Gardabhilla) was alive when Vikramāditya succeeded in establishing his rule in Avanti. The Brahmannical sources, however, deliberately or wrongly, ignore the fact of exilement and make Mahendrāditya retire after Vikramāditya's accession to power: "Then his father, king Mahendrāditya, seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great valour, and beloved of the subjects, duly anointed him heir to his realm, and being himself old, retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇasi."[3] It may be that the retirement referred to here was a voluntary one during the closing years of Mahendrāditya and it was preceded by a forced exile, which was passed over by the Hindu sources.

8. Plight and Preparation of Vikramāditya.

As a result of the Śaka occupation of Avanti not only Gardabhilla Mahendrāditya but his entire family was overthrown and scattered. Vikramāditya was separated from his father and had to fly and hide for his life, accompanied

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[1] The Prabhavaka-charita, IV. 81.

[2] Ibid.

[3] ततश्च यौवनस्थं तं विलोक्य प्राज्यविक्रमम् ।
अभिषिच्य सुतं राज्ये यथाविधि जनप्रियम् ॥
महेन्द्रादित्य नृपतिः सभार्यो सचिवोऽपि सः ।
वृद्धो वाराणसीं गत्वा शरणं शिश्रिये शिवम् ॥ The Katha-saritsagara, XVIII. 59-60.

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by his mother and a few assistants. The Vikramārka-sattva-prabandha informs us, "When his family was uprooted in Ujjayinī, Vikramāditya's only refuge was his mother; his only friend, was Bhattamatra."[1] These were the years of Vikramāditya's hardships and trials. But he was not an ordinary boy to be cowed down and disintegrated by difficulties. He was a promising boy and a great future awaited him. Under the inspiring guidance of his mother he still remembered the Kshatriya ideal of retaliation against the enemies and the restoration of the lost fortune of his people, though he was in a helpless condition and his difficulties were many and varied.

His preparations started during the period of his plight. The main problem before Vikramāditya was the raising of an efficient army and to organize a war against the Śaka intruders. This scheme required a sound finance and Vikramāditya was put to great strain in this matter. All the Jain Prabandhas describe the financial difficulties of Vikramāditya and his firm determination to collect necessary money. One Prabandha contains the following one of many instances of collecting money: "Once for the sake of acquiring wealth, accompanied by his friend, and having taken permission from his mother Vikramāditya started. Remembering a mine of Jewells, he proceeded towards it.........."[2] This effort of Vikramāditya can be compared with the similar effort of Chāṇakya in collecting money in order to raise an army to fight the Nandas.

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[1] उज्जयिन्यां उच्छिन्नवंशो विक्रमादित्यनामा जननी सहायोऽस्ति । तस्य भट्टमात्रो नाम मित्रः । Compiled in the Puratana-prabandha-sangraha, p. I.

[2] द्रव्यार्जनाय मित्रेण सह जननीमापृच्छ्य चचाल । वज्राकरं स्मृत्वा तदुपरि प्रस्थितः । Ibid,

CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION OF AVANTI AND THE FIRM FOUNDATION OF THE MĀLAVA REPUBLIC.

1. A FIRM DETERMINATION:

Vikramāditya was smarting under the defeat and overthrow of his people by the Śakas. But he would not dissolve his sentiments into tears and yield to the difficult situation; rather, he firmly resolved to regain Avanti and to establish his people once more firmly there. The difficulties and trials, which he had to suffer from, only strengthened his resolution and goaded him to further action. That Vikramāditya was a young man of iron determination and dauntless courage is proved by a number of stories contained in the Nibandhas called 'Vikramārka-sattva-prabandha[2]. He concentrated all his energies at the defeat of the Śakas and devoted himself to the preparation of war against them. He was encouraged and helped by his constant companions—his mother and his friend Bhattamātra. It seems that, though he was separated from his father during the early years of his tribulation, later on the both contacted and joined in the common effort of driving out the Śakas. This becomes evident from the fact that, according to the Kathāsaritsāgara, Mahendrāditya was still alive at the time of Vikramāditya's accession to power in Avanti and he arranged for it.

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1. उत्साह इव साकारः प्रत्यक्ष इव विक्रमः । Bribatkatha-manjari, X. I. 60.
2. Compiled in the Puratana-prabandha samgraha (Singhi Jain Granthamala)
3. The Katha saritsagara, XVIII- 59-60.

2. THE MĀLAVA PEOPLE WERE STILL ALIVE.

Though the Gardabhilla section of the Mālavas was dislodged from Avanti by the Śakas and the Mālavas as a whole also received a shock, they as a people did not perish. They were pushed back towards north-east, which was the natural line of retreat for them, with their political and economic conditions upset by the defeat inflicted upon them by the Śakas. Vikramāditya had mainly to rely upon his own people, the Mālavas and first he started his preparations, amongst them.

3. THE ALLIES OF THE MĀLAVAS.

The first Śaka invasion of India was not only a calamity to the Mālavas but also a serious menace to the existence of other states in the neighbouring areas. The Mālavas formed only a link in the great chain of republican peoples, who occupied the areas—eastern Punjab, Rajputana, Ākara, Avanti, Sindh and Surāshṭra. Archaeological and literary evidences prove the existence of a number of republican states in these areas in the first century B.C.. We can briefly introduce these republics as follows :

(1) THE YAUDHEYAS. They occupied the south-eastern part of the Punjab. It is evident from a large number of the coins of the Yaudheyas, which are found in the eastern Punjab all over the country of the Sutlege-Jamuna doab. On palaeographic grounds chronologically these coins range from the second century. B. C., to the fourth century A. D. On early class of coins the legend runs in Brahmi, "Yaudheyanaṁ" (of the Yaudheyas). The later class of coins contain a more constitutional legend, "Yaudheya-gaṇasya-jayaḥ"[1] (Victory of the Yandheya Republic).

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[1] V. A. Smith, Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum, Vol. I. p. 181

The Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman[1] and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[2] refer to the Yaudheyas as a great power.

(2) THE MADRAS. They originally occupied the north-eastern Punjab with their capital at Sakala. But in the first century B. C. they migrated towards south. They continued their existence up to the fourth century A. D. They, along with the Yaudheyas, are included in the list of subordinate allies of Samudragupta.[3]

(3) THE ŚIBIS During the Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Śibis were found in the neighbourhood of the Mālava Republic (S. W. Punjab). When the Mālavas migrated towards the south-east, the Śibis followed them and settled in Rajputana. A number of their coins were discovered at Nagari near Chitore. The coins bear the legend, "Majhimikāya Sibi-Janapadasya' (of the country of the Śibis of Madhyamikā.[4]

(4) THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS. The coins of the Ārjunāyanas are found in Rajputana, bearing the legends, 'Ārjunāyanāṁ Jaya (Victory of the Ārjunāyanas). On the basis of palaeogrphy they belong to the first century B. C.[5] They also figure in the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptins of Samudragupta.[6]

(5) THE UTSAVA-SAMKETAS. The Mahabhārata places them in the vicinity of Pushkara or

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1. Epigraphia Indika, Vol. VIII, p. 44.
2. Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, No 1.
3. Ibid.
4. Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. XIV, p. 146.
5. V. A. Smith, Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, p 166.
6. Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions No. 1

Ajmer in Rajputana. The Utsava-saṁketas were one of the neighbours of the Mālava people.[1]

(6) THE ŚUDRAS. They formed a city republic in Sindha.[2] They were easily defeated by the Śakas, but they survived as a people.

(7) THE ĀBHĪRAS. They were originally in Sindha, but they, under the Śaka pressure, appear to have migrated towards the east during the period under consideration. They are also mentioned as a republican people in the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions of Samudragupta.[3]

(8) THE KUKURAS. They belonged to Surāshtra. They were also subjugated by the Śakas, but they continued their existence as a people. They are described as one of the peoples defeated by Mahakshatrapa Rudradāman.[4]

(9) THE VRISHNIS. They were survivers of the Vrshnis of the Mahābhārata fame among whom Krshna was born. In the first century B. C. they were in Surāshtra. Their coins are found in this part of the country and bear the legend in the script of the first century B. C.. "Vṛshṇi-rājanya-gaṇasya tratasya" (of the Vṛsni-rājanya-gaṇa—the Protector of the country).[5]

(10) THE RĀJANYAS. They occupied the territories near Mathurā.[6]

(11) THE MAHĀRĀJA-JANAPADA.[7]

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1. The Mahabharata, Sabhaparva, XXXII.
2. Ibid.
3. Fleet ; Gupta Inscriptions No. 1.
4. Epigraphia Indika, Vol. VIII, p. 44.
5. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 70 ; Maha. Sabha, XXXII.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Ibid.

(12) THE VĀMARATHAS.[1]

(13) THE ŚALANKĀYANAS.[2]

(14) THE AUDUMBARAS. In the Mahābhārata[3] they are found mentioned to-gether with other republics of the Punjab. Their coins which, on palaeographical basis, can be assigned to the first century B. C. are found in northern Punjab.[4] One of their branches migrated to Cutch where they are located by Pliny[5]. Their coinage resembles that of the Ārjunāyanas.

(15) THE MĀLAVAS. In the fourth century B. C. according to the Greek sources, the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas were occupying the south-western part of the Punjab and they formed a confederacy to oppose Alexander while he was retreating through the Jhelum river. Under the pressure of the Bactrian Greeks and the Magadhan Empire they moved towards south-east and ultimately settled in the territories, comprising present day Malwa and the south-eastern part of Rajputana. It appears that after the age of Patañjali the Kshudrakas merged into the Mālavas, as they are no longer mentioned any where. The Mālavas, however, are mentioned as late as the time of Samudragupta.[6] They had a number of sub-clans. One of them was in possession of Avanti and others were in south-eastern Rajputana and eastern Malawa.[7] After

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1. Patanjali on Panini, IV, 1, 150-
2. Ibid, V- I- 58,
3. The Mahabharata, Sabha, XXXII,
4. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p, 69,
5. Quoted hy Cunningham, ibid,
6. Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, No, 1.
7. Conningham, Arch, Sur, India 'Report, Vol. XIV. p- 150 ; V. A, Smith catalogue of Coins-Indian Museum Vol- I, p- 161:

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the first Śaka occupation of Avanti in 71 B. C. and the second occupation in 78 A. D. the bulk of the Mālavas remained in south-eastern part of Rajputana.

The majority of republics mentioned above originally belonged to the Punjab. After putting up a stiff resistence they bent down before the Greeks under Alexander the Great, but they survived his campaign. Soon after, however, they were subjected to the Maurya and the Śuṅga empires and fresh invasions of the Greeks from Bactria. They were pressed hard. These liberty-loving people preferred freedom to the possession of territories and, leaving their ancient homes in the Punjab, moved towards south-east and carved out new homes in the areas mentioned above. They formed a chain round Rajputana. After the decline of the Suṅgas, when the weak Kaṇvas were ruling over a much diminished and flickering empire of Magadha, these republics found a chance of reviving their power and prestige at the cost of the empire. They were able to forge, a strong net in Rajputana, Central India, Malwa, Surāshtra and Sindh. The republics were always hostile to foreign invaders. Just as the republics of the Punjab had offered stubborn resistence to the Greeks under Alexander, so did these republics to the Śaka invaders of India about two hundred and fifty years later in a different zone of India's defence. The Śaka menace was more serious than the first one, and even the second, Greek invasion of India. In many respects the part played by these republics was more striking and glorious than the one played by their ancestors in the Punjab.

4. THE FORMATION OF A CONFEDERACY.

The first Śaka invasion of India was a stormy event and took place all of a sudden. The republics could not form a confederacy for their defence. Under the circumstances the republics of Sindha and Surāshtra were supressed

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and subjugated and the Gardabhilla branch of the Mālavas at Ujjayini suffered very heavily. It was thrown out and scattered. This event was no doubt catastrophic to the Gardabhillas, but it was also an eye-opener and a challenge to other republics and kingdoms in neighbouring areas.

Howsoever brave and liberty-loving the members of republics were, taken individually, the republics were small states and they were no match against an organized and extensive foreign or imperial invasion. It was proved to the hilt by the submission of the republics of Sindh and Surāshtra and the overthrow of the Gardabhillas from Avanti. This served as a great lesson. The republics, however, had one saving device. It was almost a rule with them to form a confederacy against an external danger. We get a number of instances of such confederacies in earlier times of Indian history. The Vajjis and the Mallas confederated to fight the imperial wars of Ajātaśatru of Magadha.[1] The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas combined and formed a confederacy against the Greek invader Alexander.[2] Vikramādiya took advantage of this old tradition. While pooling the resources of his own republic the Mālava-gaṇa, he organized a strong and effective confederacy of the republics of Rajputana, Central India and eastern Punjab against the Śakas. It was a great achievement on the part of Vikramāditya and it finds an echoe in the Abhijnāna-Śākuntala,[3] where he is called the Leader of 'One Hundred Republics' (Gaṇa-Ŝtaes), which roundly means a large number of republics.

5. THE EXPULSION OF THE ŚAKAS.

At the head of of the confederacy organized by him Vikramāditya marched towards Avanti where the hated Śakas had wrongfully occupied Ujjayini. The war between

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1. Kalpa-sūtra, 128
2. Curtius, Bk; IX, Ch. IV; Mac Crindle; I. I. by Alexander; p. 234.
3. Act VII 34

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the republican forces and the Śakas must have been a sanguine one, but the full details are not available. According to the Kālakāchārya-Kathā found in the Prabhāvaka-Charita "some time after the Śaka occupation of Ujjayini Śrī Vikramāditya uprooted the family of the Śakas and shone like a universal monarch".[1] A similar narration is found in the Vichāra-Śreṇi of Merutuṅgāchārya. "After the lapse of some time, having uprooted that family of the Śakas, there will be a Mālava Chief namely Vikramāditya".[2] These statements are corroborated by the Pattāvalis, according to which the reign of Gardabhilla (Mahendrāditya) was followed by a Śaka rule of four years in Ujjayini; then succeeded his son Vikramāditya.

6. FOUNDATION OF A NATIONAL ERA.

The defeat of the Śakas was a historic event in the chequered career of the country. The country was freed from foreign domination and the oppressive rule of the Śakas. This event was the result of the combined effort of a number of republican peoples, in which the Mālavas took the leading part. The success of Vikramāditya over the Śakas entitled him to his viruda (epithet) 'Śakāri'.[3] The event inaugurated an age of peace and prosperity, which was figuratively called Kṛta (Satyuga=Golden Age). In order to Commemorate this land-mark in Indian history an era was founded. In the begnining the era was known as 'Kṛta', because it inaugurated, figuratively, the Kṛta Age (Golden-Age) at the time of the firm foundation of the Mālava

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[1] शकानां वंशमुच्छेद्य कालेन कियताऽपिहि ।
राजा श्री विक्रमादित्यः सार्वभौमोपमोऽभवत् ॥ VI. 90.

[2] कालन्तरेण केणवि उप्पाडित्ता सगाण तं वंसं ।
हो ही मालवराया नामेणं विक्रमाइच्चो ॥ Quoted in Pattavali-Samuchchanya Appendix C, 199.

[3] 'Sakari' means 'Enemy of the Sakas'. It was one of the important epitbet of Vikramaditya.

Republic after the expulsion of the Śakas and later on it was called the Era of the Mālava Republic, the Era of the Mālava People or the Era of the Mālava Lords Ultimately, by the end of the ninth century A. D. the era began to be called 'the Era of Vikrama' or 'the Era of King Vikrama'. How this trans-formation of the name of the era took place has already been explained.[1] There is no donbt that the chief responsibility in the foundation of the era was that of Vikramāditya. The Jain and all popular traditions are unanimous on this point. According to the Kālakāohārya-Kathā, "He (Vikramāditya), after making a lofty and great achievement and having made the earth free from debt, established his own era".[2] The onrrent astronomical tradition include the name of Vikrama in the list of the great founders of Indian eras.[3] But being the head of a republic, under the constituitional law of the State, he could not lend his name to the era, though in popular mind his name was always remembered in connection with the era. The name of Vikramāditya survived the loss of republican tradition in India, as did the names of Kṛshṇa and Buddha, and from the tenth century onward even in official documents his name came to be associated with the era.

7. ISSUING OF VICTORY COINS.

Another important device for perpetuating the great success of the republics over the Śakas was the minting of the 'Victory Type' of coins. These were memorial coins, but they continued to be imitated even later on. A large number of coins have been discovered which bear the legend, 'Jaya Mālavānāṁ', 'Mālavānāṁjayaḥ' or 'Mālavagaṇasya

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1. Vide Chap. I.
2. स चोन्नतमहासिद्धिः सौवर्णपुरुषोदयात् ।
मेदिनीमनृणां कृत्वाऽचीकरद् वत्सरं निजम् ॥ Prabhavka-Charita, IV. 91.
3. युधिष्ठिरो विक्रम शालिवाहनो नराधिनाथो विजयाभिनंदनः ।
इमेतु नागार्जुन मेदिनीविभुर्बली क्रमात् षट्शककारका कलौ ॥

jayaḥ' (Victory of the Mālava People or Victory of the Mālava Republic). The Compatriots of the Mālavas, the other republies of Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab also followed the Mālavas and instituted the 'Victory Type' of Coins.[1]

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[1] V. A, Smith; Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum, vol. I Tribal Coins.

CHAPTER VI

ACCESSION AND TITLES.

1. VIKRAMĀDITYA BECOMES THE LEADER.

Vikramāditya had fully qualified himself for the post of leadership of the Mālava republic by playing an important role in the defeat of the Śakas and the restoration of Ujjayini, and he was duly acclaimed as Neta or Mukhya (President). The description of his accession to power, however, is given differently in the Kathāsaritsāgara. We are told that his father Mahendrāditya was alive at the time and "He, having seen his son youthful, popular (Janapriya) and of exuberant prowesss (Prājyavikrama), properly anointed him".[1] The intervention of Mahendrāditya in this case would make the accession appear unrepublican and monarchical. But it should not be forgotten that the notion and the style of Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, were influenced by monarchical instituions of his times, and the picture of Vikramāditya's ascent to power is blurred and twisted. The fact, however, should also be noted that the strict democratic Mālavas of the Punjab, under the changed and trying circumstances, became aristocratic. The election or selection of the Leader came gradually to be restricted to a few families and ultimately tended to become hereditary, though the Leader was still subject and responsible to the gaṇa (Republic) and, in theory, popular. It is proved not only by the Jain and the Puranic evidences but also by the epigraphical evidence of the Nandasa Yupa inscriptions, wherein the leadership of the Mālava people is described to have continued from the father-to the son for two or three generations together.[1]

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[1] ततश्च यौवनस्थं तं विलोक्य प्राज्यविक्रमम् ।
अभिषिच्य सुतं राज्ञे यथाविधि जनप्रियम् ॥ XVIII. 1. 59.

2. ROYAL TITLES TABOOED.

Though the prestige and the power of the individual leader were increased, under republican constitution, the assumption of grandiloquent royal titles was yet not allowed. Kautilya informs us that the republics of the west and the south did not bear any regal title; though in the same period, those of the east assumed the title of 'Rajā', which was originally monarchical. The republics of the west and the south were 'Vārtāśastropajivi' (belonging to the constitution based on economic and military fitness).[2] Vikramāditya, therefore, could not prefix any royal title to his name. This fact is corroborated by one of the manuscripts of the Abhijñana-Śākuntala.[3] According to this manuscript, the Sūtradhāra, while introducing the play, refers to his patron as 'Śri Vikramāditya'. Śri is, undoubtedly, a commoners' honourific. The same manuscript, however, informs us that Vikramāditya assumed the epithet of 'Sāhasāṅka'. This title was applied to Vikramāditya by Bhojadeva in his famous work 'Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa'.[4] He was also called 'Vishamaśila' according to the Kathāsaritsāgara.[5] The most popular and militarily important viruda (epithet) of Vikramāditya was 'Śakārī', the variants of which 'Śakārāti' and 'Śakāntaka' are also found.[6] It should be observed that these epithets were not monarchical titles ; rather, these were earned by Vikramāditya through his superhuman courage and prowess in the fields of arms and administration. Even the Jain writers, who refer to his great prowess and achievements, desist from calling him as an emperor and simply say that 'he shone like a universal monarch'.[1] The last phrase clearly suggests that Vikramāditya did not adopt any imperial title.

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[1] Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI

[2] The Artha-shastra, XI, 1. 160.

[3] Vide ante Chap. I.

[4] काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः । ii, 15.

[5] XVIII. I.

[6] Kshirasvami on Ramacharita, ii, 8. 2. of Abhinanda.

3. A HOMILY TO VIKRAMĀDITYA.

As there was a tendency towards making the post of leadership hereditary among the Mālavas, so there was some inclination towards appropriating royal titles. The Prabandhakosha[2], a Jain work, contains a very interesting story. Here it is told that once Vikramāditya was struck with pride and wanted to behave like a monarchical ruler for which he received a great rebuff and he was humbled down. The story is worth quoting. It runs as follows :

"When Vikramāditya was ruling at Ujjayinī, a Brahmaṇa, who lived in a neighbouring village, while ploughing his field, found a brilliant jewel. To ascertain its price he took the jewel to a jeweller in Ujjayinī. The jeweller, wonderstruck at the sight of the jewel, expressed his inability and advised the Brahmaṇa to approach Vikramāditya, who was famous for examining jewels. The latter also failed to assess the value of the jewel. Taking the jewel from the Brāhmaṇa, Vikramāditya started towards the abode of Bali, who was supposed to be the greatest jewel-examiner in the world. The gate of Bali was guarded by Nārāyaṇa, who was saluted by Vikramāditya.

"Nārāyaṇa inquired, "For what purpose have you come here ?" Vikramāditya replied, "Tell him (Bali) that the Rājā has come on an urgent piece of business and wants an audience" Nārāyaṇa, approaching Bali, delivered, "The Rājā

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[1] The Prabhavaka-charita, IV. 90.

[2] XVII. 100 (Vikramaditya-prabandha).

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has come and is waiting at the gate." Bali exclaimed "Is he Rājā Yudhishṭhira ? Enquire Nārāyaṇa." Going back to Vikramāditya, Nārāyaṇa asked, 'Are you Raja Yudhishṭhira ?' Vikramāditya answered, "No. It seems he recognizes Yudhishṭhira only as a king. Tell him that the Maṇdalika has come." Being told so Bali again enquired, ' The Maṇdalika ? Is he Rāvaṇa ?' Nārāyaṇa hastened to Vikramāditya and put the same question to him. Vikramāditya, revising his status, said, "Tell him that Kumāra, has come." Having heard the new title, Bali asked, "Is he Kārtikeya, Lakshmaṇa or Nāgaputra Dhavalachandra ?" Nārāyaṇa repeated this question to Vikramāditya. The latter replied, "Tell him that Vaṇṭha has come." Being lold so by Nārāyaṇa Bali again querried, "The Vaṇṭha ? Is he Hanumān ?" Nārāyaṇa went back to Vikramāditya and asked this question to which he replied in despair. "Go and tell him that Talāraksha has come." Hearing this Bali said. "What, Vikramāṅka ?" Nārāyaṇa ran to Vikramāditya and asked, "Are you Vikramāditya ?" The answer was, "Yes."

Let us analyse the above story and see the implications of various titles referred to therein. We should also observe why these titles, except the last one, did not apply to Vikramāditya. The titles can be explained as follows :

(1) Rājā—usually this word means 'a king' or 'a ruler'. Amarasiṁha, in his lexicon, however, draws a fine distinction between adjectives derived from the word 'Rājan'. According to him 'Rājanvat' means 'a country ruled by a just and noble ruler'; 'Rajavat' simply means 'a country, having a ruler'[1]. Kālidāsa, in his Raghuvaṁśa[2] makes this distinction when he uses the expression, 'the earth is called Rājanvati because of this king'.

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1. सुराज्ञि देशे राजन्वान् स्यात्ततोन्यत्र राजवान् । Amarakosha, II. 13.

2. कामं नृपः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् । vi. 22.

Perhaps, bearing this distinction in mind, Vikramāditya thought that, because he was a just and noble ruler, he could introduce himself to Bali as a 'Rājā.' Bali, in order to humble him down and to remind that he could not adopt the monarchical title 'Raja' retorted that the title was reserved for pious rulers like Yudhishṭhira.

(2) Maṇḍalīka—This term means 'an emperor supreme over a circle of twelve kings'.[1] Vikramāditya was the head of a confederacy and had extended his influence over a number of his contemporary rulers. He could persuade himself that he was perfectly justified if he introduced him as a Maṇḍalika. Bali, however, scornfully refuted this imperial claim advanced by Vikramāditya, by referring to the true nature of imperialism which could be achieved, no doubt, only by a mighty but diabolic king like Rāvaṇa.

(3) Kumāra—Ordinarily, in the political sense, it means 'a prince' or 'a crown prince'; in the mythic military sense it means 'Kārtikeya'. 'the god of war'. Kālidāsa uses this word in the latter sense in his Raghuvaṁsa.[3] The title of Kumāra was humbler than the former ones but it was justified only by the military distinctions of Vikramāditya. Bali was not prepared to accept even this tittle, because it was besmeared with the tinge of militarism and bloodshed. A true republican leader is not expected to wage wars and aspire for military glory. Wars were forced upon Vikramāditya and he proved a successful military leader. But to take pride

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1. Amarakosha, VIII. 3.
2. युवराजश्च कुमारो, Ibid- VII, 12.
3. III. 55 ; Amarakosha, I 40.

in, and boast of, militarism was repugnant to Bali, specially in the case of a republic-leader like Vikramāditya.

(4) Vaṇṭha—The term 'Vaṇṭha' means a servant devoted entirely to the service of his master"[1] The republican leader thought that, because he was devoted to the service of his people who were his real masters, the title of 'Vaṇṭha' might appropriately introduce himself to Bali. The latter was not quite sure that complete self-efacement was possible in Vikramāditya and, therefore, he demurred at this title also.

(5) Talāraksha—The literal meaning of this word is 'the protector of the earth (land)'. This prosaic and functional title of Vikrama, was found satisfactory by Bali. It should be noted here that this title has never been used by Indian rulers and, as a matter of fact, it was no political title at all.

The above story clearly indicates that, under the republican constitution of the Mālavas, no royal or monarchical titles could be used by their Leaders or Presidents. It is possible that to some ambitious members of the republic royal titles were tempting but the gaṇa (republic) collectively was still powerful than individual members and they were not allowed to bear any such title. After the eighth or the ninth century A. D. ancient Indian traditions were confused and the life of Vikramāditya was presented before the people in the norm of the time. The Hindu and the Jain traditions both call the Gardabhillas and Vikramāditya as 'Bhūbhṛt', 'Rājā', 'Nṛpati', 'Deva' etc., all meaning a 'king'. The explanation of this confusion is that these traditions

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1. वठि एकचर्यायाम् । Paniniya-vyakarana, Siddhanta-kaumudi, Bhvadi-prakarana.

about Vikrāmāditya were recorded and preserved by people, who ceased to be republican and became careless about republican traditions also. They admired and remembered the martial, administrative and altruistic qualities of Vikramāditya, because they were still familiar with these, but they grew oblivious of the tradition of republican constitution. There are parallel cases of Kṛshṇa and Buddha. Who, except the antiquarians, remembers to-day that Lord Kṛshṇa was a republican leader and Buddha was the son of a republican President?

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CHAPTER VII

WARS AND SUPREMACY

1. WARS FORCED BY ŚAKA INVASION.

The wars undertaken by the republican Mālavas under Vikramāditya were, really speaking, the legacy left by the first Śaka invasion of India. The expulsion of the Śakas from Avanti was not enough. Central India and Rajputana in particular and India as a whole in general were not safe so long as the Śakas were lingering and digging in Aparānta (Northern Konkan), Surāshṭra (Kathiawar) and Sindhu (Sindh) or in the neighbourhood of India on the western frontier. India was also not secure so long as it remained disintegrated and disorganized politically and no machinery was forged for some kind of co-ordintion of various states in the country. The first danger required ruthless wars against the foreign invaders. The second internal problem could be solved either by persuation or by arms. Vikramāditya had already the precedent of the Mauryas before him. The Mauryas were a republican people, but under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya, they launched upon the career of wars and conquests. There was, however, a vital difference between the career of Vikramāditya and Chandragupta Maurya. With the expansion of power and territories the parent republic of the Mauryas collapsed, as Chandragupta played the part of an Asura-Vijayi (Annexationist) and ultimately he became an emperor. Vikramāditya, on the otherhand, was not an annexationist but a Dharma-Vijayi[1] (a conqueror who wages wars for

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[1] This explains why Vikramaditya has been remembered by the Indians, while Chandragupta Maurya is lost in oblivion.

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establishing his supremacy and not for acquisition of territories of other kings or states); the Mālava Republic was not dissolved but firmly reorganised (Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti) and Vikramāditya remained a republican, though he faintly imbibed some imperialistic tendencies. As required by the circumstances of his time Vikramāditya had to wage wars, firstly to clear India of the Śakas and protect it from possible foreign invasions and secondly, as it appears from the descriptions of his wars, for his supremacy and glorification in the country.

2. LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS OF WARS AND CONQUESTS.

1. The Bṛhatkathā-mañjari contains sporadic references to the military exploits of Vikramāditya, which can be reproduced as follows.

(i) "Rājā Vishamaśīla (Vikramāditya), who was a great archer and initiated in the art of uprooting the Mlechchhas, after his father had retired, ruled over the earth."[1]

(ii) "O Lord, the Kings of the Deccan have put the garland of your order, the great remedy for the protection of their prosperity, on the crests of their crowns".[2]

(iii) "Verily Śri Vikramāditya, the conqueror of the three worlds, attains to victory".[3]

(iv) "After this, the wicked kings of the Mlechchha-Śakas were killed".[4]

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1. राजा विषमशीलोऽथ जनके प्रशमं स्थिते ।
शशास वसुधां धन्वी म्लेच्छोच्छादनदीक्षितः ॥ X 1. 22
2. देव दक्षिणादिग्भूपैर्युष्मच्छासनमालिका ।
किरीटकोटौ विक्षिप्ता लक्ष्मीरक्षामहौषधीः ॥ X 1. 15
3. सत्यं श्रीविक्रमादित्यो जयति त्रिजगज्जयी । X. 1, 39
4. अत्रान्तरे संहतास्ते पापा म्लेच्छशकाधिपाः । X. 1. 150

(v) "Vikramāditya easily conquered all. Having defeated the Mlechchhas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavạnas (Greeks), the mean Hūṇas with barbarian hordes, the Tushāras, and the Pārasīkas, who had given up their Aryan conduct and were disintegrated (culturally), by the mere twist of eyebrows, he relieved the earth from its burden".[1]

(vi) There are references to the subjugation of the kings of Ceylone[2] and Vidarbha (Berar).[3]

(2) The Kathāsaritsāgara gives a more detailed and connected account of the wars and conquests of Vikramāditya.

(i) "Your Majesty has conquered the Dakshiṇāpatha with Aparanta, the Madhyadeśa with Surāshṭra and the eastern region with Vaṅga and Aṅga; and the northern regions with Kashmir and Kashṭhā have been made tributary and various forts and islands have been conquered ; and the hosts of the Mlechchhas have been slain and the rest have been sudued to submission ; and various kings have entered the camp of Vikramaśakti (General of Vikramāditya's army)"[4]

(ii) The specific kings, who joined the victorious camp of Vikramaśakti, the general of Vikramāditya, are also mentined:

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1. अथ श्रीविक्रमादित्यो हेलया निर्जिताखिलः ।
म्लेच्छान्काम्बोज यवनान्नीचान्हूणान्सबर्बरान् ॥
तुषारान्पारसीकांश्च त्यक्ताचारान्विशृंखलान् ।
हत्वाभ्रूभंगमात्रेण भुवोभारमवारयत् ॥ X. 1. 285-286
2. क्रमेणाम्बुधिमुत्तीर्य यातोऽहं सिंहलेश्वरम् । X. 1. 23
3. ततो विदर्भराजेन··· ·· । X. 1. 150
4. सापरान्तश्च देवेन निर्जितो दक्षिणापथः । मध्यदेशः ससौराष्ट्रः सवङ्गाङ्गा च पूर्वदिक् ॥ सकश्मीरा च कौवेरी काष्ठाश्च करदीकृता । तानि तान्यपि दुर्गाणि द्वीपानि, विजितानिच ॥ म्लेच्छसंघाश्चनिहता शेषाश्च स्थापिता वशे । तेते विक्रमशक्तेश्च प्रविष्टाः कटके नृपाः ॥ XXIII. 1. 76-78.

"Your Majesty, here is Śaktikumāra the king of Gauda come to pay you his respect, here is Jayadhvaja the king of Karṇāṭa, here is Vijayavarman of Lāta, here is Sunandana of Kashmir, here is Gopal king of Sindha, here is Vindhyabala the Bhilla, and here is Nirmūka the King of Persians".[1]

(iii) In the romantic stories of love and wars of Vikramāditya the kings of Siṁhala[2] (Ceylone) and Kaliṅga[3] are mentioned as to have submitted to Vikramāditya and to have offered the hands of their daughters to him in order to cement their political relations.

3. Identification of Countries and Peoples Conquered.

(1) DAKSHIṆĀPATHA. It is a territorial term used for the part of India lying to the south of the Narmadā river. It includes the whole of the Deccan and the south.[4]

(2) APARĀNTA. The literal meaning of the term is western (Apara) extremity (Anta), e. g. the western frontier of the country. In the widest sense of the term Aparānta denoted the entire western sea-coast including both Konkan and Malabar.[5] In its limited sense, however, it meant the nonthern konkan, the capital of which was Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara).

(3) MADHYADESA. According to some of the

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1. गौडः शक्तिकुमारोऽयं कर्णाटोऽयं जयध्वजः ।
लाटो विजयवर्मायं काश्मीरोऽयं सुनन्दनः ॥
गोपालः सिन्धुराजोऽयं भिल्लो विन्ध्यबलोऽप्ययम् ।
निर्मूकः पारसीकोऽयं नृपः प्रणामति प्रभो ॥ XVIII, 3, 2 3,

2. XVIII, 1 86 ff. 3

4. Matsya-purana, Ch 114; Rajashekhara's Balaramayana, Act VI.

5. The Markandeya purana; Ch. 58

Purāṇas[1] Madhyadeśa included the countries of Pañchāla, Kuru, Matsya, Yaudheya, Patachchara, Kunti and Sūrasena; while some other include the territories in the east up to Prayāga (Allahabad). The Buddhist sources allow a more liberal extention to Madhyadeśa. The boundaries of Madhyadeśa, according to them, are as follows: To the east town Kajaṅgala and beyond it Mahāśāla (roughly speaking the Rājamahal Hills); south-east the river Sālavatī; south the town Setakaṇṇika; west the town and district Thūṇa; north Uśīradhvaja mountain.[2] From its reference in the Kathāsaritsāgara it appears that it covered the whole of northen India except Uttarapatha (Punjab and N. W. Frontier) and Surāshṭra (Kathiawar and northern Gujrat).

(4) SAURĀSHTRA. Usually it connoted the peninsula of Gujrat or Kathiawar, but it was also used sometimes in the sense of the tract of country comprising Gujrat, Cutch and Kathiawar.

(5) PURVADIK. It means Prāchī or 'Prāsii' of the Greek writers, lying to the east of the Madhyadeśa. It vaguely denotes the eastern part of India.

(6) ANGA. Roundly it comprised the north-eastern part of Bihar, including Darbhanga, Mongyr and Bhagalpur. It was one of the sixteen Janapadas of the Buddhist literature.[3]

(7) VANGA. It comprised the territories of south-eastern Bengal. According to Buchanan[4] it

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1. The Garuda-purana, Ch, 1.
2. The Mahavagga: v. 12, 13.
3. The Anguttara-nikaya, I, 4.
4. Beveridge's "Buchanan Records" in the Calcutta Review, 1894, p. 2.

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meant Eastern Bengal, while in the opinion of Dr. Bhau Da ji[1] it consisted of the country between the Brahmaputra and the Padmā.

(8) Kāshmīra. It is roughly represented by modern Kashmir. Some times it was included in the kingdom of Gandhāra.

(9) Kaūberi. The mythical meaning of the term is 'Northern Regions', and it may denote 'Uttarapatha' in its narrow sense, comprising the Punjab and N. W. Frontier provinces.

(10) Kāshthās. The word 'Kāṣṭhā' in Sanskrit means 'extremity', 'limit,' 'boundary' etc.[2] It may convey the idea of extreme north-west frontiers.

(11) Sinhala. It is the well-known island of Ceylone.

(12) Dvīpas. This term literally means 'islands'. They were situated in the Indian Ocean. The word 'Dvīpa' also sometimes means 'land'.

(13) Kalinga. The territories between the Mahānadī and the Godavarī were known as Kaliṅga. According to the Mahābharata[3] a large portion of Orissa up to the Vaitariṇī river was included in it. Kālidāsa,[4] however, separates Utkala (Orissa) from Kaliṅga.

(14) Vidarbha. It is modern Berar

(15) The Mlechchhas. Like the 'barbarians' of the Greeks the term 'Mlechchhas' meant 'foreigners'. But in the context of the first century B. C. it is peculiarly sued for the Śakas. At one place the Bṛhatkathā-mañjari sesn the term 'Mlechchha-

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[1] His 'Literary Remains'

[2] Kumarasambhava, III. 35.

[3] Adiparva, Ch. 215.

[4] The Raghuvamsa, IV.

Śakas',[1] which lends support to this identification.

(16) KAMBOJAS. They occupied the territorries now covered by N. W. Kashmir, N.F. of the Frontier Province and South of the Pamir plateau.

(17) THE YAVANAS.

(18) THE HUNAS.

(19) THE TUSHĀRAS.

(20) THE PĀRASIKAS.[2]

4. THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EXTENSIVE CAMPAIGN.

Before we pass any judgement on the possibility or otherwise of a wide conquest, as described above, on the part of Vikramāditya it is proper to bear in mind the political set up of India in the first century B. C.. The great Magadha empire had collapsed in the north and it was reduced to an insignificant power under the weak Kaṇvas. A number of small republics, freed from imperial pressure from Magadha, were occupying the eastern Punjab, Rajaputana, Central India, Malva, Surāshṭra and Sindh, and they were regaining their power and prestige. The Bactrian Greeks in the extreme north-west were weakened and rendered helpless by the revival of these republics and the Parthian and the Śaka pressure from the west. The powerful Kushāṇas were not on the scene as yet. Passing on to the Deccan, the pre-imperialist Andhras, divided in branches were ruling in Andhra, Vidarbha and Karṇaṭaka. The extreme south, Ceylone, Kaliṅga and other parts of the country were under petty rulers. The time was one of political chaos and disintegration. Under such circumstances any ambitious and resourceful ruler, who could command an organized force, had a good chance of leading a successful campaign all over the country. Further, the spread of the influence and supremacy of Vikramāditya was not entirely based on actual wars and use of arms. He also used the effective weapons of diplomacy, reconciliation and threats in his war of supremacy. Kālidāsa, while describing the policy of Raghu's world-conquest, reflects the victorious policy of his own patron Vikramāditya: "Prowess in the van, next uproar, thereafter dust, and at last chariots etc—thus four-divisioned, as it were, that army marched forward".[1] From what we have observed it is clear that an able and ambitious leader of men like Vikramāditya had ample opportunity of organizing a contry-wide campaign and establishing his supremacy over the entire land.

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[1] X. I. 150.

[2] From No. 17 to No 20 were well-known people. The first three of them were occupying Central Asia and area near the Pamira. The fourth were the residents of the country known as Persia (now Iran).

5. CAMPAIGN OUTSIDE INDIA.

Supremacy over India involved a great responsibility on the supreme power. It had to safeguard the vulnerable north-western frontiers of the country against the turbulent and greedy trans-Indus and Central Asiatic tribes on the one hand and the powerful Persian empire on the other. In every traditional Digvijaya (world-conquest) of India the expulsion and the subjugation of these peoples formed an essential feature. The foreign peoples mentioned in the Bṛhatkathā-mañjari and the Kathāsaritsāgara were all present in the vicinity of India in the first half of the first century B. C.. Their existence was a challenge to Vikramāditya. He proceeded to deal with them, following threefold policy of extermination, expulsion and subjugation.

6. THE COURSE OF CAMPAIGNS.

After the expulsion of the Śakas from Avanti the first concern of Vikramāditya was Surāshṭra, including Sindh, though it is mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara as an appendage of the major conquest of Madhyadeśa. The Śakas were still lurking in Surāshtra and Sindh and it was quite logical that Vikramāditya should pursue them and turn them out of these areas. The result of the campaign of Vikramāditya in this direction was that 'a large number of the Śakas were annihilated and the rest (non-combatant) subjugated'.[1] Surāshṭra and Sindh were freed from foreign domination and some of the republics, which were crushed by the Śakas, were revived.[2]

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[1] प्रतापोऽग्रे ततः शब्दः परागस्तदन्तरम् ।
ययौ पश्चाद्रथादीति चतुःस्कन्धेन सा चमूः ॥ Raghuvamsa, IV. 30.

The next concern of Vikramāditya was the expansion and consolidation of his power in Madhyadeśa, which could serve as a stable base for the further growth of his power. The most strategic part of Madhyadeśa was already occupied by the republics, which had confederated under the leadership of Vikramāditya. The middle-east under the Kaṇvas could not offer any resistance. Aṅga (north-eastern Bihar), Gauda (northern Bengal), Vaṅga (eastern Bengal) and Kaliṅga submitted after initial resistance. The king of the last mentioned territory is described to have offered the hands of his daughter, Kalingasenā to Vikramāditya.

After making his position strong in the north Vikramāditya marched for the subjugation of the Deccan (Daksiṇāpatha) with Aparānta (northern Konkan). The latter had been the area of Śaka infiltration from Surāshṭra along the coast of the Paśchima Samudra (Western sea, called Arabian Sea by the Europeans). So the clearance of the Śakas from this province was urgent. A neighbouring king of Lāṭa, namely Vijayavarma, is also said to have joined the victorious army of Vikramāditya. This king must have submitted earlier than the province of Aparanta. No

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1. म्लेच्छसंघाश्च निहताः शेषाश्च स्थापिता वशे । Katha-saritsagara, XVIII, I. 78

2. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India; pp. 66-68

actual wars in the Deccan are described by Somadeva, but we are told that Vikramāditya's general Vikramaśakti had his encampment somewhere in the Deccan[1] and his victorious camp was joined by a king of Karṇāṭaka, namely Jayadhvaja. During this period almost the whole of the Deccan from Andhra to Karṇāṭaka was occupied by the Andhras ; it is evident from the rise of the Andhra-Śatavahanas in the western part of the Deccan soon afterwards. Jayadhvaja, most probably was one of the pre-imperialist Andhra kings (not mentioned in the Purāṇas). It appears that Jayadhvaja, frightened by the recent Śaka invasion and sobered down by the future possibility of fresh barbarian inroads from outside, willingly submitted to the Digvijaya campaign of Vikramāditya and joined his victorious army in the furtherance of the cause championed by him. The same policy seems to have been adopted by the other Andhra kings in the Deccan. The king of Vidarbha mentioned, separately was one of them.

Ceylone also followed suit. Without giving any fight its king acknowledged the suzerainty of Vikramāditya and presented his daughter to him through his Senāpati. The other islands (Dvipas) in the Indian Ocean also submitted. The story of this part of the conquest is couched in a highly romantic style which makes it less authentic. But when we remember that about four centuries later the peoples of Ceylone and all other islands entered into subordinate alliance with Samudragupta and also made Kanyopāyana (offering of girls),[2] the version of Vikramāditya's campaign in the Indian Ocean does not appear impossible.

The campaigns in the Northern Regions (Kauberi) must have come next in order. No kings of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces are mentioned specifically. These areas were partly occupied by the republican states, which were only too willing to join the confederacy orgainzed by Vikramāditya, and partly by the receding Bactrian Greeks. Kashmir and extreme frontiers (Kāshṭhas) are mentioned separately. The name of the king of Kashmira is given as Sunandana; the extereme frontiers were under some hilly tribes. Kashmir submitted easily but the latter were reduced to subjection after using force.

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[1] The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII. I. 86—87.

[2] सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिः.....।) Fleet : Gupta Ins. No. I.

Out of the foreign peoples described to have been conquered by Vikramāditya, those who were dealt with after the Śakas, were the Pārasikas (Persians). We know from the Śaka history that in the first century B. C. the overlord of the Śakas were the Parthian kings. The Pārasikas referred to in the Bṛhatkathāmañjari and the Kathāsaritsāgara were these Parthians. They had an imperial claim over the territories ruled over by the Śakas. By overthrowing the Śakas from Sindh Vikramāditya must have come into clash with the Parthian interest. After defeating the Śakas he was not on defensive but he was boldly taking an offensive and following the traditional policy of an Indian world-conqueror. He must have reached through land (the Bolan Pass) the natural boundaries of Persia proper and pushed the Parthians within proper limit. We cannot ascertain as to whether he actually overran Persia and defeated the Parthian king in his own country. Somadeva includes the only foreign king Nirmūka (silent or dumb) i. e. whose speech was not intelligible to the Indians, Pārasika (Parthian) in the list of rulers, who joined the victorious camp of Vikramāditya. It is rather, suspicious, because no other foreign kings are included in the list, though the defeated foreign peoples are referred to. Supposing that Kālidāsa vaguely reflects the conquests of his patron in his Raghuvaṁśa, we find, "Raghu started to conquer the Pārasīkas through the land route." Kālidāsa does not describe the actual defeat of the Pārsikas in their own country.

After the Parthians the next foreign people who drew the attention of Vikramāditya were the Yavanas (Greeks). We know from the Aśokan inscriptions that on the north-western frontier of the Maurya empire there was a province called Yona (=Yavana) where Ionian (Greek) settlements were established. Again, the Bactrian Greeks poured into India in the second century B. C. and occupied the provinces of Yona, Kamboja and Gandhāra for a long time. In the first century B. C. they were weakened and were receding into the Kabul valley. The conquest of the Northern Region (Kauberi) by Vikramāditya must have involved a conflict with the Yavanas who were driven out of the country, but perhaps, allowed to remain in the Kabul valley and they were not pursued and subjugated there. This last was post-poned and undertaken after the repulse of the Parthians. This order is confirmed by Kālidāsa, who describes the defeat of the Yavanas after the repulse of the Pārasīkas. From the Kabul valley Vikramāditya marched towards the north and crossing the Hindukush Mountains he struck 'the mean and barberous Hūṇas' in the southern part of Central Asia. Moving south-eastwards from here Vikramāditya defeated the Kambojas and the Tushāras, who were occupying the territories to the north of the Nangaparvata (North-West Kashmir) and upper ranges of Mutagh and Karakorum.

7. COMMENT ON THE VICTORIOUS CAMP OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

While commenting upon the passage in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, which describes the victorious camp of Vikramāditya joined by the king Śaktikumāra of Gauḍa, Jayadhvaja of Karṇāṭa, Vijayavarmā of Lāta, Sunandana of Kashmir, Gopāla of Sindh, Vindhyabala the Bhilla etc., many scholars are of the opinion that, because these names are not found in the dynastic history of respective provinces, the description in question should be regarded as fictitious and useless as a historical piece of document. In this connection it is submitted that there are no dynastic genealogies of kings, who ruled in these provinces before the first century B. C., preserved in any other record and there is no source of verification left to us. The only exception is Kashmir the history of which was composed in the thirteenth century A. D.. In the pre-first century B. C. genealogy of the Kashmir kings preserved in the Rājataraṅgiṇi no name like 'Sunandana' is found. The real difficulty before the story-writers of India was that the same king had various names and many epithets, and they adopted any name familiar with them. It is, however, not impossible that Guṇāḍhya, the author of the original Bṛhatkathā did not know the real proper names of the kings of distant provinces, who ruled in the first century B. C. and he simply coined suitable or possible names. But this does not invalidate the substance of the description of the conquest of Vikramāditya.

8. RAGHU'S DIGVIJAYA COMPARED.

It is worth while to see whether any light is thrown by Kālidāsa, the court-poet of Vikramāditya, upon the world-conquest of his patron. In his Raghuvaṁśa[1] Kālidāsa has described the Digvijaya (world-conquest) of Raghu. It should be remembered, in this connection, that the poet was not recording the contemporary political and military events of his time but he was composing an epic based on events which had taken place long before him. As a successful poet Kālidāsa was trying to present a faithful picture of those olden times to the best of his knowledge and artistic capacities. At the most he might have been inspired by his contemporary history and he may vaguely reflect the events of his time. In view of this poetic norm we cannot identify the conquest of Raghu with those of Vikramāditya ; in Raghu's Digvijaya we can expect at the most only unconscious parallels and vague reflections of Vikramādtiya's, world-conquest.

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[1] Canto IV, verses 32—84.

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Raghu was a king of Ayodhya. His capital was never occupied by foreigners nor there was any threat of a fresh foreign invasion. He was inspired by the traditional Kshattriya ideal of universal sovereignty in the country and he launched upon a career of world-conquest. He did not rush towards Saurāshtra and Aparānta, which were the first concern of Vikramāditya, as they were infested by the Śakas; rather he leizurely proceeds towards the east first (sa yayau prathamaṁ prāchī). While describing the conquests of eastern peoples, Kālidāsa does not mention Aṅga, which is included in the list of countries subjugated by Vikraimāditya, but he describes the fall of Suhma (Western Bengal) Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal) before Raghu. He next conquers Utkala (Orissa) and Kaliṅga. On this side, in the conquest of Vikramāditya only Kaliṅga is mentioned, which might have included Utkala also. After defeating the king of Mahendra mountains, Raghu entered the Deccan with ease, and, encamping for some time in the valleys of the Malaya mountain, he subdued the Pāṇḍya princes, who could not resist his power. In the Dakshiṇāpatha-conquest of Vikramāditya Pāṇḍya and Malaya are not mentioned specifically. Raghu did not go to Ceylone and other islands in the Indian Ocean, which were subdued by Vikramāditya. From the Pāṇḍya country and the Malaya mountains Raghu moves towards the Sahya and conquers Kerala (Malabar), Murala near Kerala watered by the (Murlā river) and Aparānta (northern Konkan). The conquest of Aparānta was vital for Vikramāditya on account of Śaka infiltration there, but he does not care to conquer Kerala and Murala separately, unless they are also included in Aparanta. Raghu does not encounter enemies in Surāshtra and Sindh, which were very important centres of war for Vikramāditya. Here it should also be observed that the Mlechchhas or Śakas of Vikramāditya were not harassing Raghu and, therefore, they are not mentioned by Kālidāsa. To complete his world-conquest, however, Raghu, by land-route, started to conquer the Pārasikas (Persians), so did

Vikramāditya. From Persia Raghu marched towards the northern direction (Kauberī) but the Kauberī (northern direction) of Vikramāditya is in India near Kashmir. In the north the peoples conquered by Raghu were the Yavanas, the Hūṇas, the Kambojas, the Kirātas, the Utsavasaṁketas and the kings of Prāg-jyotisha and Kāmarupa; those subdued by Vikramāditya were the Mlechchha-Śakas, the Pārasikas, the Yavanas, the Hūṇas, the Kambojas and the Tushāras. The Kirātas (the Mongoloid people of the Himālayan mountains), the Utsavasaṁketas and the kings of Prāg-jyotisha and Kāmarupa are not mentioned in the list of peoples defeated by Vikramāditya, unless they are included in the Kāshṭhas (frontiers). This comparison shows that the Digvijaya of Raghu is not identical with the world-conquest of Vikramāditya, though the former substantially reflects the latter.

Some writers contend that the glorification of Raghu's family and the description of Raghu's world-conquest, as given by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa, are based upon the glorious history of the Guptās and the wide conquests made by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Let us compare Raghu's Digvijaya with the Gupta world-conquests and see how far the latter reflect the former. The two graphic descriptions of the Gupta conquests are given in the Allahabad stone-Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[1] and the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta.[2] The scope of Samudragupta's Digvijaya excludes the whole of Uttarāpatha; he had only a diplomatic relation with the Śakas and the Murundas (Kushans) and he had nothing to do with the Pārasikas, the Yavanas, the Huṇas, the Kambojas, the Kirātas, the Utsavasaṁketas, Prāg-jyotisha and Kāmarūpa, which are described to have been defeated by Raghu. The description of Chandragupta II's world-conquest is very vague. The only specific wars mentioned in it are those fought in Vaṅga (Bengal), Uttarāpatha and the Bāhlika country. The picture of his Digvijaya can be completed by referring to his wars in Central India, Malwa and Surāshṭra. But even then the extent of his conquests falls very much short of Raghu's sphere of Digvijaya. The scope of Vikramāditya's world-conquest as described in the Bṛhatkathāmañjari and the Kathāsaritsāgara[1] approximates that of Raghu's much more closely than do the extent of Samudragupta's and Chandragupta's conquests. Under the circumstances, the suggestion that Raghu's Digvijaya is a replica of Gupta conquests is not justifiable. If mere vague and inadequate resemblance is regarded as a proof of identification, many suggestions can be forwarded and we cannot arrive at reality. It is, therefore, not fair to father Raghu's conquests upon the Guptas.

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[1] Fleet : Gupta Ins. No. I.

[2] Ibid. No 32

9. PARALLELS OF VIKRAMĀDITYA'S DIGVIJAYA.

In the foregoing pages we have maintained that under the political circumstances of the first century B. C. it was quite possible for Vikramāditya, a ruler of Avanti, to organize a successful campaign in the country and to extend his sphere of influence even beyond it. It may be, however, asked whether there are some other known historical parallels of this type of wide compaigns in India's past. The answer is in the affirmative. In the sixth century, in Malwa itself, Yośodharman, according to the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription[2], effected wide conquests : "He before whose feet chieftains, having their arrogance swept off by the strength of his arm, bow down, from the banks of the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) up to the Mahendra mountain in Orissa)...., from the Himalayas, the tablelands of which are embraced by the Ganges, up to the Western Ocean—by which all the divisions of the earth are made of various lines through the

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1. Vide ante pp. 105-112
2. Fleet : Gupta Ins. No. 33

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intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair-tops of their heads." Another well known parallel is the world-conquest of Yośovarman of Kanauj who flourished in the end of the seventh century A. D.. According to the Gaudavaho of Vākpatirāja Yaśovarman conquered the major part of the country and subdued the Persians also. On the possibility of his conquests V. A. Smith comments ; "There is nothing incredible in the assumption that a powerful king, occupying at Kanauja a good central position, should have carried his arms eastward across Bengal, southwards, to the Narmada, and northwards to the foot of the mountains."[1]

10. THE NATURE OF VIKRAMĀDITYA'S WARS.

It has been already stated that the wars of Vikramāditya did not aim at the annexation of countries and the extinction of peoples. His aspiration was not to build a unitary empire like that of the Mauryas nor a feudo-federal empire like that of the Guptas. His sole objective was to establish political supremacy over numerous small states of India for the political co-ordination of the country without involving any harm to the subdued states. This policy was a compromise between the imperial character of military operations and the republican tradition of local freedom. This adequately explains why Vikramāditya is regarded an ideal Digvijayi and still respected and remembered by the people of India while annexationist Mauryas and Guptas have been forgotten. According to the Kathāsaritsāgara,[2] the defeated kings who had joined the victorious army of Vikramāditya and had been brought to Ujjayini were dismissed to their respective countries after being properly honoured by Vikramāditya. Kālidāsa truly represents the nature of Vikramāditya's world-conquest, when he characterizes the Digvijaya of Raghu in the following words : "The righteous conqueror took away the wealth and (vain glory of isolated independdence) and not the treritory of the lord of Mahendra, who was captured but subsequently released".[1] Another peculiar faeture of the world-conquest of Vikramāditya was that it was not celebrated with an Aśvamedha sacrifice. It was, perhaps, due to the fact that imperial ceremonies were not appropriate and appealing to a republican leader like Vikramāditya.

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[1] J. R. A. S, 1908, p. 779

[2] सम्मानित विसृष्टेषु··· । XVIII. 38

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[1] गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ Raghuvaṁsha, IV. 43.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MĀLAVA STATE UNDER VIKRAMĀDITYA.

1. REPUBLICAN HERITAGE.

The Mālava state established in Avanti was territorially a new creation highly influenced by Gandharvasena Gardabhilla and his son Vikramāditya. But it had a long tradition behind it. Originally the Mālava people lived in the Punjab and formed a republican state. The political circumstances of N. W. India forced them out of the Punjab and they had to migrate from place to place. They lost their original territories but they retained their republican tradition. When they reached Avanti, they were able to carve out a stable state again. The new circumstances, they had to face, influenced the constitution of the state, but the bases of the state still remained republican.

2. BASES OF THE STATE.

While in the Punjab the Mālavas had already outgrown their tribal stage and had organized a state on a territorial basis composed of various elements in their territories. Paṇini, in his Ashṭādhyāyi[1], refers to this fact. "A non-Brāhmaṇa and a non-Kshattriya of the Mālava Saṁgha would be called 'Mālavya'; while a Kshattriya would be 'Mālava', the plural in each case being 'Mālavāḥ'. The above rule of grammar clearly indicates the stage of a developed territorial state constituted by different social elements in the state and distinct and different from a primitive tribal stage. The Mālavas carried their tradition to their new homes in Rajputana and Avanti also. The later traditions depict Vikramāditya as a ruler of a state, which was territorial and not tribal. The Nandsa yupa inciptions[1] found in southern Rajputana evidence that the Mālava state up to the third century A. D. had a territorial basis and the Mālava-gaṇa was composed of various social groups in the state.

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[1] V. 7. 114

Besides territory, another basis of the Mālava state was military. The state constitution had a special reference to the military qualifications of its members. The Greek writers in the camp of Alexander attest that the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas, among the states of the Punjab, were most famous for their military qualities. According to them, the military strength of the Mālavas was 100000 and they were a nation in arms. "The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army". "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war, in which the most war-like nations in India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition"[2]. These Greek observations regarding the military nature of the Mālava state correspond with the Āyudhajivi-Saṁgha (the republican people living on arms) of Pāṇini[3] and the Śastropajivi of Kauṭilya[4]. These terms were used in opposition to Rājaśabdopajivi (assuming the title 'Rāja'). The Mālavas even when they shifted to Rajputana and Avanti did not use the title 'Rāja', and they remained a nation in arms. The military basis of the Mālava state continued throughout its existence till it was finally devoured by Gupta imperialism.

3. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE.

The constitution of the Mālava State in the Punjab

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1. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII.
2. Curtius, Bk. IX. Chapter 4 ; Mac Crindle. I. I. A. p 234
3. Ashtadhyayi, V. 3.
4. Arthashastra, IX.

was a democratic one. According to it every member of the republic had a direct franchise. It had no elected King-Consul, but it possessed a second chamber of elected members. Even the military leaders of the state were elected. The Greek writer Curtius says that for leading the united army of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas an experienced warrior was elected. At the time of negotiating peace with Alexander they sent their ambassadors, who were leading men of their cities and provinces and they were given the full powers to conclude a treaty[1].

The Mālavas, in their new province of Avanti under the pressure of abnormal circumstances, had to revise their democratic constitution. During the exegencieis of foreign invasions and wars the old ultra-democratic constitution did not suit them and aristocratic elements entered the constitution of the Mālava republic. The first change in this direction was the delegation of executive powers to a few families on hereditary principles, though the aristocratic rulers were subject to the republic. The next change was the election of a supreme leader from amongst the aristocratic families holding the executive power. This process, up to the time of Gandharvasena and Vikramāditya, culminated into hereditary leadership, as we find the same family ruling continuously for several generations[2]. It, however, does not imply that the republic was dissolved or the leader ceased to be responsible to the people. We know for certain that as late as the end of the third century A. D. the Mālava-gaṇa was still alive in southern Rajputana called as Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya (the territory occupied by the Mālavas). This information is derived from the Nandsa yupa inscriptions[3]. These inscriptions also throw welcome light on the constitution of the Mālavas. They inform us that there was one Śri Soma, the Leader (Netā) of the Sogi clan of the Mālavas ; Jayasoma, the father of Soma and Prabhāgra-vardhana his grand-father were also the Leaders of the Mālava people[1]. These leaders were very powerful and enjoyed great rights and influence, but they were not allowed to assume royal titles. The Mālava constitution, it appears, became a mixture of democracy and aristocracy. The leader of an aristocratic origin was there, but the Mālava people were still called a gaṇa (republic), and their coins continued to be issued in the name of the gaṇa[2]. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscirption[3] of Samudragupta they are classed with a number of frontier republican peoples in opposition to the frontier kings.

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[1] Curtius, Bk. IX Ch 4. 7; Mac Crindle. I. I. A., P. 248-51.

[2] See the Jain Pattavalis.

[3] Ep. Ind. Vol XXVII

The mixed constitution referred to above was not peculiar to the Mālavas of Avanti and Rajputana alone. Indian history furnishes other instances also. In the Pali texts we come across the Pettanikas, who were hereditary rulers.[3] During the time of Alexander's invasion of India the Greek found a similar, if not identical, state on the banks of the Beas river.[4] In the Mahābhārata we find mention of the 'Kulas (families) of Rajas' belonging to a republic.[5] Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra also refers to Saṁgha-dharmin (republican) Rājakulas (ruling families).[6] To guard against full fledged monarchical tendency, however, the Mālavas changed the ruling families. The Gardabhilla family was ruling in the first century B. C., but in the third century A. D. the rulers belonged to the Sogi clan of the Mālava people.[7] Tacitus, while dealing with the ancient history of the German tribes, refers to their mixed constitution into which republican and aristocratic elements were merged.[8]

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[1] Ibid

[2] Archaeological survey of India Report, Vol. VI.

[3] Fleet, C. I. I. Vol. III.

[4] Mac Crindle, I. I. A. P. 121.

[5] Shantiparva, Ch. 107.

[6] Ch. XI?

[7] Nandsa Yapa ins. Vol. XXVII.

[8] Tacitus, Vol. II. p. 318. (Everyman's Library Series.)

4. FEDERATION OF REPUBLICS.

The Mālava people were divided into a number of sub-clans. They federated among themselves and confederated with other republican states, generally under the threat of foreign invasions. We do not know the exact form of federation or confederation. But most probably it must have resembled the confederation of the Buddhist republics of nonthern India in earlier times, which was based on the equality of status and the equal number of representatives from each confederating unit.[1] The Leader of the confederated states was elected from amongst the member states. In the present case Vikramāditya was the Leader of the confederation of states (gaṇa-śata).[2] A somewhat similar confederation of the ancient Yādava republics is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[3] Masson-Oursel etc., commenting upon the Yādava republics, say, "We learn from this work (the Mahābhārata) that the Yādavas were a federation of small clans, each with its hereditary chief, and common affairs were managed by a body of elected senators. Here, it seems, each state, is monarchical and the federation is republican."[4] The above remark regarding the federation is apt, but the writer confused Leadership with hereditary Monarchy.

5. THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE STATE.

During the age of Vikramāditya the state (whether monarchical or republican) was regarded as constituted by seven limbs (aṅgas). Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Vikramāditya refers to the 'limbs of the state' in his Raghuvaṁśa.[5] Another contempory of Vikramāditya, Amarasiṁha, in his lexicon, enumerates the constituents of the state as sovereign

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1. Kalpasutra, 128.
2. Abhijnana Sakuntala, VII. 34.
3. Bk. X. Ch. 107.
4. Ancient India and its Civilisation. p. 90.
5. सप्तस्वङ्गेषु... । 1. 60; IV. 12; VIII. 10; XII. 12; XIII. 68.

(one or many), high officers of the state, allies ; treasury, the nation, forts and forces.[1] This conception gave a sense of organism to the state. It should be noted, however, that this organic conception of the state was derived from the Arthaśastra[2] and the Manu-smṛti,[3] the works which were composed during the Maurya and the Śunga periods of Indian history respectively.

6. THE HEAD OF THE STATE.

We have already seen that the first and most important constituent of the state was the sovereign, who was the head of the state. According to the Nandsa Yupa inscriptions he was called Neta (Leader).[4] The hereditary tendency of leadership among the Mālavas made the position of the head of the state very strong, though the gaṇa (republic) did not become a nonentity. Under the circumstances much depended upon the personality and initiative of the leader. The leader of the Mālava state Vikramāditya was inspired by the highest ideal of a ruler—the true service of his people. Some of the traits of his character are revealed in the Kathāsaritsāgara: "Though he was a mighty hero, he dreaded the other world ; though a brave warrior, he was not hardhanded......He was the father of the fatherless, the friend of the friendless, the protection of the destitute and what not of his subjects ?" According to a tradition recorded in the Prabandha-Kośa[5] Vikramāditya had Rāma as his ideal. He is described to have said, "As Rāma made his people happy by his good administratian (vyavahāra), so will I do." "He followed Rāma in giving alms, in building monuments, in maintaining the

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1. स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्ग बलानि च ।
2. VI. I. राज्याङ्गा निप्रकृतयः.................. ॥ Amarakosa, II. 8. 17.
3. IX. 294 ; 156
4. Ep Vol. XXVII
5. Vikramaditya-prabandha, No, 17

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social order and in respecting the elders. He delighted to be called 'Abhinava Rāma' (new Rāma)."[1]

7. THE IDEAL.

The court-poet of Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa, while idealizing the pictures of the heroes in his literary works, naturally reflects the high idealism of his own patron. "Raghu is the highest type of selfless nobility in a king, illustrating the complete harmony between enjoyment (bhoga) and renunciation (tyāga)"[2]. The Rāma of Kālidāsa was an embodiment of a rigid moral purity, who illustrated in his life the severe duty of a king, inolving the sacrifice of king's comforts, feelings and evrything for the welfare and satisfaction of his own people. "No kingly ideal of later times can enjoin a better precept or point to a worthier model ; and it is but fitting in the nature of things that Rāmarājya should become in popular paplance a common expression for the ideal government, where the interest of the people are placed first, even before those of the sovereign"[3]. The secret of Vikramāditya's popularity in India is due to his approximation to this ideal. While depicting the character of Dushyanta Kālidāsa says that the office of a ruler involves continuous watchfulness and efforts and it does not know any repose[4]. He has to shoulder heavy and arduous responsibilities. The poet further adds that the ruler is just like "the sun who has his horses yoked but once, like the wind that blows day and night and again like the Śesha who has the load of the earth placed on him for ever".

THE MAKER OF TIME

The fact that the head of the state by virtue of possessing such a high ideal and living up to it can mould his own time and should be regarded as the architect of his age is also reflected in the works of Kālidāsa[1]. It seems to be a literary projection of the high idealism and creative genius of Vikramāditya and suggests the foundation of an era by him.

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[1] Ibid

[2] Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature,

[3] A. B, Keith. A History of Sanskrit Literature, p- 92

[4] अविश्रामोऽयं लोकतंत्राधिकारः । Shak. V.

8. Duties and Functions.

The head of the state had to perform generally threefold duties—military, executive and judicial. He led the army during war, organized the military department during peace, looked into the details of administration and executed state orders, and presided over justice. The Kathāsaritsāgara contains the tradition of manifold functions of Vikramāditya in the following words. "And Vikramāditya.........began in due course to blaze forth, as the sun, when it has occupied the sky. Even haughty kings, when they saw the strings fitted into the notch of his bending bow, learnt a lesson from that weapon and bent likewise on every side. Of godlike diginity, having subdued to his sway even Vetālas, Rākshasas and other demons, he chastised righteously those who followed evil course. The armies of that Vikramāditya roamed over the earth like the rays of the sun, shedding into every quarter the light of order."[2] In numerous literary traditions and folk-tales Vikramāditya is famous for his keen sense of justice and his high capacity for rewarding the good and punishing the evil.

The dignified functions of the head of the state have found graceful expressions by Kālidāsa. According to him a rular is called 'rājā' because he pleases his subjects;[3] so to keep his people pleased was his essential duty. The

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[1] Vikramorvashi.

[2] XVIII, I. 61-64.

[3] राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् । Raghu. XVII. 65 : Sak. V. 4.
राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः Ibid. VI. 21.
प्रकृतिमण्डलमनुरञ्जयन् राज्यं करोति । Vik. p. 121.

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next important duty of a ruler was the protection of the people from external and internal dangers. In this capacity he is called Protector (gopta) by the poet[1]. Another high duty of a ruler was the maintenance of his subjects by providing material basis of life[2]. These duties of a ruler involve the essential functions of a state and an ideal ruler had to perform them in the best possible manner.

9. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

Like a monarchical ruler the republican ruler Vikramāditya was also provided with a council of ministers, which helped him in the discharge of his duties as the leader of the state. In the literary traditions about Vikramāditya we are told that his father had Sumati as his prime minister (Mahā-mantrin) and Vajrāyudha as his chamberlain (Pratihāra).[3] With the development of hereditāry rulership amongst the Mālavas, it seems, that the post of ministers also tended towards becoming hereditary. This can be proved by the fact that during the reign of Vikramāditya, Mahāmati, the son of Sumati, was his chief minister and Bhadrāyudha, the son of Vajrāyudha was his chamberlain.[4] This is not very strange, as we know from later sources that ministership was very often hereditary.[5]

As regards the composition of the Council nothing definite is known. Amarasiṁha,[6] a contemporary of Vikramāditya and residing at his court, refers to the following ministers :

1. Mahāmātra or Pradhāna (Prime Minister)
2. Mantri, Dhisachiva or Amātya (Advising Minister)
3. Karma-sachivas (Executive Ministers)

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[1] Raghu. XV. 44.

[2] प्रजानां वृत्ते स्थितः । Ibid. V. 33.

[3] The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII. 1. 14.

[4] Ibid 52-54.

[5] अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्य Fleet : Gupta Ins. No. 10

[6] The Amarakosha, II. 8. 4. 5.

4. Purodhā or Purohita (Minister of Religion)
5. Prādvivāka (Minister of Law)
6. Akshadarśaka (Minister of Records)

10. ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

As direct evidences at our disposal are meagre, it is difficult to say as to how the central government under Vikramāditya was organized. Amarasiṁha in his lexicon refers to some of the heads of departments called 'Adhyaksha' or 'Adhikṛta.[1] Kālidāsa categorically refers to the heads of departments as 'tirthas'.[2] From contemporary evidences the designations of various heads of departments are not known. But Kauṭilya, an authority who preceded Vikramāditya by about a couple of centuries, gives the following eighteen designations of the heads of departments.[3] We can easily concede that with the adjustments necessary for the peculiar needs of the republican Mālavas the same heads continued during the time of Vikramāditya also :

1. Mantri and Purohita[4] (they were jointly responsible for religion and the high policy of the state)
2. Samāhartā (Revenue Minister).
3. Sannidhātā (Minister of Exchequer).
4. Yuvarāja (Crown Prince)
5. Senāpati (Army Minister)
6. Pradeshtā (Chief Justice of Administrative court)
7. Vyāvahārika (" Civil Court)
8. Nāyaka (Commander-in-Chief of Army)
9. Karmantika (Minister of Industries)
10. Mantriparishadādhyaksha (President of the Council)
11. Daṇḍapāla (Minister in-charge of the Maintenance of Army)
12. Antapāla (Minister of Frontiers)

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[1] Amarakosha, II. 8. 6.

[2] Raghu. XVII. 68.

[3] Arthasastra, Bk. II.

[4] In the Amarakosha, II. 8. 5, we get 'Purodha'.

13. Durgapāla (Minister of Home Defence)
14. Paura or Nāgaraka (Governor of the Capital)
15. Praśāsta (Minister of Records)
16. Dauvārika (Lord Mayor of Palace).
17. Antarvaṁśika (Office of Royal Guards)
18. Āṭavika (Minister of Forests)

It should be observed here that the above eighteen heads of departments were required for a huge imperial state like that of the Mauryas. So far as the Mālava State under Vikramāditya was concerned, heads no. 4, 16 and 17 seem to be superfluous. But, as the tendency amongst the Mālavas was towards hereditary leadership, they might have been retained.

11. Territorial Divisions.

The Mālavas were occupying the areas which are now known as Malwa and south-eastern part of Rajputana. Under the Mauryas these territories formed the part of Avanti rāshṭra.[1] In the third century A. D. north-eastern sector of these territories was called 'Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya.'[2] In later works the land under the Mālavas was designated by the term 'Avanti' or 'Mālava'.[3] Into what administrative units the Mālava land was divided is not possible to determine. Most probably the major divisions were based on the areas occupied by the different sub-clans of the Mālavas. The minor divisions were like those under rural administration of the monarchical states. Amarasiṁha refers to the village headman as sthāyuka[4] and to an officer who was incharge of a group of villages as 'Gopa'.[5] He also refers to 'Śreṇayaḥ' or town corporations.[6] It appears that villages and townships were autonomous.

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[1] The Mahabodhivamsa, 98.

[2] The Nandsa Yupa Inscription.

[3] The Prabhavaka-charita, IV.

[4] The Amarakosha, II. 8. 7.

[5] गोपो ग्रामेषु भूरिषु Ibid.

[6] पौराणां श्रेणयोऽपि च । Ibid II. 8. 18.

LUCKNOW

12. Fiscal Administration.

The sources of revenue tapped by the government were many and varied. Perhaps the same sources replenished the treasury of the state monarchical or republican. Kālidāsa refers to the various heads of income which accrued to a king in the following passage : "The earth gave him remuneration in proportion to its protection by him ; it produced for him jewels from mines, corn from fields, and elephants from forests,"[1] Amarasiṁha enumerates the taxes and other heads of income as follows:[2]

1. Bhāgadheya (share of the state in production)
2. Bali (additional taxation for the personal comforts of the head of the state or the high official of the state)
3. Shulka (tolls)
4. Upayana (tributes or contribution from subordinate or confederating units)
5. Upahāra (presents).

Besides the above sources trade and commerce must have formed an important source of income to the state. In the works of Kālidāsa we get references to land sea-borne trade : "A trader, namely Dhanamitra, while trading on seas has been involved in a ship-wreck."[3] Kālidāsa also alludes to chināṁśuka' (china-silk)[4], which was imported through sea from China. A number of industrial professions find mention in literary traditions regarding Vikramāditya and the works of Kālidāsa, which must have yielded revenue to the state. Government controlled and levied taxes on wine, gambling, prostitution and it monopolized the manufacture of arms,

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1. खनिभिः सुषुवे रत्नं क्षेत्रैः सस्यं वनैर्गजान् । दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षासदृशमेव भूः । Raghu. XVII. 66.
2. The Amarakosha, II. 8. 27,28.
3. समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो धनमित्रो नाम नौ व्यसने विपन्नः । Śak. VI; Ragh. VI. 57, XVII. 81.
4. The Kumar. VII. 3 ; Sak 1.

currency, forests, mines etc. Court-fees and fines were some other sources of revenue. Another source of income was the property of persons, who died without issues.[1]

The traditional principle in India that taxation is paid in lieu of protection offered by the state was recognized during the reign of Vikramāditya. Kālidāsa regards taxes as wages earned by a ruler in proportion to protection rendered by him to the people.[2] The rate of taxation referred to by him is one sixth of the produce sanctioned by tradition.[3] This rate, however, applied to the land produce only and not to all kinds of taxation. The department of fiscal administration was headed by Samāhartā (Minister in charge of Revenue), who was helped by a number of subordinates called Adhyakshas (superintendents) such as Kanakādhyaksha, Rupādhyaksha etc.[4]

13. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The dispensation of justice was one of the most important functions of the state under Vikramāditya and his popular fame is mostly based upon his capacity to judge and his promptness to reward the good and to punish the evil. The popular stories and the literary traditions are full of descriptions of his detections of crimes and his dignified and impartial court of justice. In popular parlance Vikramāditya is another name for justice.

Justice was known by the following names[5] :—

1. Abhresha.
2. Nyāya.
3. Kalpa.
4. Deśarupa.
5. Samañjasa.
6. Yukta.
7. Aupāyika.
8. Labhya.
9. Bhajaman.
10. Abhinita.

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1. अनपत्यः किल सः । राजगामी तस्यार्थसञ्चयः । Śak. VI.
2. दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षा सदृशमेव भू । Raghu· XVII· 66.
3. Ibid· XVII· 65 ; Sak V· 6·
4. The Amarakosha, II· 8· 7·
5. The Amarakosha II. 8. 24·

Cases of litigation were called 'Vivāda' (contest) and legal procedure was termed as 'Vyavahāra' (practice). According to the early Budhist literature under 'a pure republican constitution the court of justice was held either in an assembly presided over by the king-consul[1] or in a committee composed by the Vinichchaya Mahāmātas.[2], With the development of hereditary leadership in the Mālava state this position was changed and the leader of the state began to play a predominant part in the transaction of justice also. But he was usually guided by his ministers, Mantri and Purodhā. Sometimes the ministers decided the cases themselves and forwarded it to the leader for approval.[3]

From the contemporary works we get some glimpses of law regarding inheritance and theft and the procedure of their disposal in the law court. In the drama 'Abhijñana-Śākuntala' a point of law regarding inheritance is decided by the ministers and the report of the same is sent to the king, which reads as follows :

"A merchant named Dhanamitra trading on the seas died in a ship-wreck; and the poor man is without an issue ; and thus the whole of his immense property becomes by law forfeited to the king."

The king makes the following observation on the report:

"If he was wealthy, he must have had many wives. Let an enquiry be instituted whether any one of them is expecting to give brith to a child.......the child in the womb has a right to his father's property."

The passages quoted above show that under the existing law a widow could not inherit the property of her husband, though she might be entitled to maintenance. The law, however, recognized that a child in womb could be regarded as

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1. The Dialogues of Buddha, I. 113.
2. Cf. Turner, J. A. S. B., VII. pp. 993-4.
3. Sak. VI.

an heir. A child in womb might be male or a female; no discrimination is made between the two. But the poor widow suffered from sex disalility. This is rather strange. The later Hindu Law recognizes a widow as a successor to the property of her husband under certain limitations.

As regards criminal cases we get one instance of theft from the same source.[1] Two policemen of the capital city caught hold of a fisherman with a diamond-ring. The fisherman was taken under custody and interrogated by the police. Then the case was taken up to the mayor of the city, who thoroughly got it cross-examined. Ultimately the case was forwarded to the king for decision. The policemen, who were in charge of the thief anticipated that the culprit would be awarded a capital punishment and his flesh would be eaten by vultures or dogs.[2] This indicates that theft was regarded as a serious offence against the state and severe punishment prescribed by law for it was death.

In the literary traditions about Vikramāditya we come across certain cases of kidnapping maidens: "Then king Vikramāditya...came to the place where these maidens were. × × × Then that king seeing us (culprits) by his power. And seeing us unhappy, as were afraid of being put to death, he gave us the order, 'Ye wicked ones, dwell for a year in a dark pit, and then you shall be set at liberty. But when freed, you must never again commit such a crime; if ye do, I will punish you with destruction," We can infer from the above passage that the punishment for kidnapping a maiden was death, but if the ruler so desired it could be commuted to imprisonment. In case the crime was repeated, the culprit was sure to be awarded a capital punishment.

From all available cases it can be deduced that the decision of the head of the state was final. He had also the

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1. Abhijnana-Sakuntala· VI·
2. गृध्रबलिर्भविष्यसि शुनो मुखं वा द्रक्ष्यसि । Ibid·
3 The Katha-saritsagara. XVIII.

authority of liberating the prisoners before the expiry of their terms on certain auspicious occasions "The probator, finding no prisoners whom, delighted at the birth of a son, he might liberate, only freed himself from the bond of his forefathers, that went under the name of a debt."[1]

14. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

The republics in ancient India had brilliant military traditions. Because they were small in areas, they had to perfect their military orgainzation for self-defence. Sometimes the imperialist powers won their alliance and were proud of their strength. It was recognized that the republics of N. W. and W. of India were more warlike and militarily equipped than those of other parts of India and they were significantly called 'Śastropajivi' (living on arms). Really speaking they were nations in arms[2]. The Mālavas were one of them. While they were living in the Punjab and were invaded by Alexander, they rose to a man, gathered a huge organized army in the battlefield and put up a very stiff resistance to the foreigners,[3] The same military traditions were maintained by them when they migrated to Avanti also. Their martial spirit and military preparations were again put to trial, when they carried out a crusade against the Śakas, who invaded India in the first centurys B C., and came out with a singular success. All the military achievements of Vikramāditya were based upon the military organization and the strength of the Mālavas.

Under the existing political pressure of the time, the Mālavas had to re-organize and expand their military department for the purposes of defence and offence. It was done with special reference to the capital city, the frontiers of the state and the flanks of the country. This process is reflected in the following passage of Kālidāsa:[1] "When Raghu started on his world-conquest, he made himself sure that his capital (Mūla), frontiers (Pratyanta) and flanks (Parshni) were fully protected." We can divide the whole military organization under three heads—(1) fortifications of the capital and other strategic positions (2) manufacture and storage of arms and (3) the recruitment and maintenance of the army.

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[1] Saku. VI.

[2] Raghu. III. 20.

[3] Curtius, Bk. IX. Ch. IV.

Fort was regarded as one of the constituents of the state[2] and it had a great strategic importance specially for defensive purposes. The different types of forts are not mentioned in the contemporary literature, but, as the art of fortification had already fully developed during the Mauryan period, we can safely say that the traditional four types of forts[3] given below were in existence during the time of Vikramāditya also.

(1) Sthala-durga (land-fort)
(2) Giri-durga (hill-fort)
(3) Jala-durga (water-fort)
(4) Dhanvana-durga (desert-fort)

The territories occupied by the Mālvas consisted of land, hills, waters (river and lakes) and desert. So, there were strategic necessities for building different types of forts. Specially the western frontiers were heavily fortified against foreign invaders.

The advanced militarisation of the republican Mālvas necessitated the extensive manufacture of arms and their storage. The literature produced under their patronage and inspiration contains the name of a large number of weapons, which were used in the warfare during this period.[4] Some of them can be mentioned here : [5]

(1) Dhanusha and Bāṇa (Bow and arrow)

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[1] Raghu. IV.
[2] The Amarakosa, II 8. 17.
[3] Cf. the Artha-sastra,
[4] The Amarakosa, II, 8, 67 ff,
[5] Ibid.

(2) Śakti (spear)
(3) Paraśu (axe)
(4) Asi (sword)
(5) Prāsa (barbed missile)
(6) Mudgara (club)
(7) Īli or Karavālika- (short sword)
(8) Bhindipāla (a short javelin)
(9) Parigha (iron club)
(10) Chhurikā (knife)
(11) Śaṅku (javelin)
(12) Śarvalā.
(13) Tomara (iron club)
(14) Charma (armour)

Weapons were manufactured in state factories, though the manufacture of ordinary arms by the people themselves was not banned altogether. The state maintained armories for the regular supply of arms to the army.

Next comes army, the third head of military organization. Traditionally it was composed of four limbs—(1) elephants, (2) horses, (3) chariots and (4) foot-soldiers.[1] Obviously these constituted the land force of an Indian state and it played an important part in military charge and territorial occupation. The elephants, however, were used for river warfare also and they could smash a river fleet, Kalidāsa, while describing the campaigns of Raghu in Bengal, says, "Having ousted by his prowess the Vaṅga princes, who were ready for encounter on account of their fleet of ships, that leader created the triumphal columns (of elephants) in the intervening space within the streams of the Ganges."[2] The Vaṅgas being on the sea-shore maintained a fleet. The Malavas, both in the Punjab and Avanti, were a land-locked people and had no need of a navy though the necessity of a river fleet was there. The situation was changed, when they drove the Śakas out of India and came in contact with Aparānta, Surāshtrā and Sindhu, provinces bordering on the Paśchima-payodhi (called Arabian sea by westerners. The Śakas, the immediate enemies of the Mālavas, used ships in their warfare.[3] The Mālavas could not ignore this fact and they had to mintain a strong fleet to encounter a sea-invasin from the west.

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[1] हस्त्यश्वरथपादातं सेनाङ्ग स्याच्चतुष्टयम् । The Amarakosha, II. 8-33.

[2] Raghu., IV. 38.

[3] The Prabhavaka-charita, IV.

There were various sources of the recruitment of the army. According to Kālidāsa[1] army was called sixfold (shadvidhaṁ balaṁ) along with its epithet four-fold (Chaturanginī). The poet does not explain the six-folds, but the lexicographer Amarasiṁha[2] enumerates them as follows :

(1) Maula (soldiers recruited from certain families, whose hereditary profession was military)
(2) Bhṛtaka(hirelings, who belonged to nationalities other than Indian and served on army for salaries only).
(3) Śreṇi-bala (soldiers recruited from military guilds)
(4) Mitra-bala (the army of an ally)
(5) Ari-bala (the army of an enemy)
(6) Aṭavi-bala (soldiers recruited from forest tribes)

There was no good breed of horses in India, except in Sindhu, Gandhāra and Kamboja during the time of Vikramāditya and they were imported from outside in a large number. The countries which supplied horses for army were Vanāyu (Arabia), Pārasika [Persia] and Bahlika (Central Asia).[3] The best elephants were available from the Himālayan and Assam forests. The inferior ones were procured from the Vindhyā, Pāriyatra and Surāshṭra forests.[4] The Mālavas had to depend mostly on the Vindhya, Pāriyatra and Surāshṭra types.

The army was organized into ascending grades.[5] The small unit was called 'Patti' and it consisted of one elephant, one chariot, three horses and five foot-soldiers. Three such Pattis constituted a Senāmukha, three Senāmukhas a Gulma, three Gulmas a Gaṇa, three Gaṇas a Vāhinī, three Vāhnis, a Pṛtana three Pṛtanas a Chamu, three Chamus an Anikanī and ten Anikani an Akshauhiṇi. This orgainzation was a traditional one and was in existence in India at least as early as the Mahābhārata period.

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[1] Raghu. IV. 30.
[2] The Amarakosa. II. 8.
[3] The Amarakosa, II. 8. 45.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Amarakosa, II, 8. 80, 81.

The army and its different units were put under the charge of various officers. The highest of them was the 'Mahāsenāpati'[1] [commander-in-chief]. The immediate subordinates of him were Senapatis or Senadhipas. The head of the state, while leading the army in the battlefield was called Neta[2] or Gopta[3] the units of the army had their corresponding officers as follows :[4]

1. Pattipāla.
2. Senāni.
3. Gaulmika.
4. Vāhinipati.
5. Satanika.
6. Anuśatika.
7. Sāhasrika.
8. Āyudhika.

Another important officer of the military department was called Antapāla.[5] He was in charge of frontier provinces, which had a special military importance. Other officers were known as Paridhisthas, Paricharas etc. The guards of the army were designated as Senaraksha or Sainika.[6]

References to and the descriptions of, actual warfare are found in the literature contemporary of Vikramāditya and connected with him. The march of the army against an enemy was called Abhishenana or Abhigamana.[7] We can have some glimpses of it from the Raghuvaṁśa,[8] which contains the description of Raghus' world-conquest. Warfare in India generally started at the end of the rainy season. The army of conquests was very often led by the head of the state in person. Before the army left the capital, the head had to undergo a religious ceremony called Jayasnāna and military arms were blessed with sacred mantras. The soldiers put on armours and helmets. Cavalry formed the vanguard of the army. The rear of the marching army was called sainyapṛshṭha or Pratigraha.[1] After its start the army was known as Prachakra or Chalita, its expansion was designated as Asāra or Prasaraṇa.[2] A fearless march into the battlefield was termed as Abhikrama,[3] when the army entered the battlefield it arranged itself into a number of meles called Vyūhas. The Amarakośa[4] enumerates them as Daṇḍa etc. According to the Arthaśāstra[5] the number can be amplified as follows :

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[1] Malavikagnimirta. I, Vikram. V.

[2] Raghu. IV. 36.

[3] Malavika. V.

[4] The Amarakosa II. 8. 62.

[5] Malavika I.

[6] The Amarakosa, II. 8. 62.

[7] Ibid. II. 8 95.

[8] Raghu. IV.

1. Samavyūha.
2. Vishamavyūha.
3. Daṇḍavyūha.
4. Prakṛtivyūha.
5. Bhogavyūha.
6. Asaṁbatavyūha.
7. Pradara-vyūha.
8. Dṛdhaka-vyūha.
9. Asaraya-vyūha.
10. Śyena-vyūha.
11. Sañjaya-vyūha.
12. Vijayavyūha.
13. Sthulakarṇa-vyūha.
14. Viśala-vijaya-vyūha.
15. Chamumukha-vyūha.
16. Bhāshākhya-vyūha.
17. Sūchivyūha.
18. Bala-vyūha.
19. Durjaya-vyūha.
20. Śakata-vyūha.
21. Makara-vyūha
22. Maṇḍala-vyūha.
23. Sarvatobhadra-vyūha etc.

The soldiers arrayed in the battlefield vied with one another in showing their willingness to fight. This process was called Ahaṁpurvikā (I first) and Āhopurishikā (I am the man to fight).[6] The expression of prowess was known as Vikrama or Parākrama.[1] The impatient soldiers got intoxicated by drinking wine before and after the fight. They were also inspired by the Chāraṇas, who praised war in exciting and temphing terms. We come across an actual scene of battle conducted by Vikramāditya himself: "And immediately, king, there was heard in the army the loud beating of drums, and immediately there was seen the mighty host of hostile kings accompanied by the Mlechchas. Then our army and the hostile army, furious at beholding one another, closed with a rush, and the battle began. × × × And there arose a terrible tempest of battle, overspread with a cloud formed of the dust raised by the army, in which sword-blades fell thick as rain and the shouts of heroes thundered. And the heads of our enemies flying up, as they were cut off, and falling again, made it seem as if the Fortune of our Victory were playing at ball. And in a moment those kings, who had escaped the slaughter, their troops having been routed, submitted and repaired for protection to the camp of your vassal."[2]

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[1] The Amarakosa, II 8· 96

[2] Ibid·

[3] Ibid. 96.

[4] Ibid· II· 8· 79·

[5] X· 576·

[6] The Amarakosa, II· 8· 102·

The soldiers had to live in encampments (skandhāvārs). Their life was hard and rigourous. And yet they had ample opportunity of festivity and merry-making. Kālidāsa[3] says that the soldeirs in the victorious army of Raghu sometimes regaled themselves with drinking bouts (rachitāpāna bhumayaḥ). Victory was also celebrated by indulging in wine (madhu) : "The soldiers, in the land surrounded by vine creepers, where they had spread deer-skins for sitting, removed their exhaustion involved in victory by drinking wine."[4]

15. POLICE ADMINISTRATION.

Army under Vikramāditya was supported by an efficient system of police. This fact can very safely be inferred from a scene in the Abhijnana-Śākuntala.[1] As regards the capital the Nagaraka (the mayor) was the head of police administrations, which was carried on under his supervision. The police-men were called Raksinas, who kept watch over the city and detected criminal cases as theft etc. What is true of the capital was, perhaps, true of the rural areas also. The entire personnel of the department was known as Rakshi-varga (the community of police-men). Besides the open police, there was also a department of secret police the members of which were called Charas or Guḍhapurushas.[2]

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[1] Ibid. II. 8. 103.

[2] The Katha-saritsagara, XVIII. 2.

[3] Raghu. IV. 42.

[4] Ibid. IV. 65.

16. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE STATE.

The existence of a large number of states in India and the threat of a foreign invasion was the back-ground of the foreign affairs and policy pursued by Vikramāditya. Many of these states were weak. The Magadha empire under the Kaṇvas was considerably reduced and continuing a precarious existence. Besides it there were other monarchical and republican states in the north. The Deccan was similarly divided into a number of small monarchical states. Some of these states were friendly, some hostile and some indifferent to Vikramāditya. After the Indian tradition already developed during the Mauryan period, the inter-state relations were conceived under the form of a circle (maṇdala), which is, referred to by Kalidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa.[3] Amarasiṁha in his lexicon does not refer to the maṇdala as such, but mentions four types of powers (situated on concentric circles) with reference to an ambitious conqueror. They are as follows :[4]

1. Śatru (Enemy), an immediate neighbour.
2. Mitra (Ally), situated next to no. 1.

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[1] Act VI.

[2] The Amarakosa. II, 8. 13.

[3] उपगतोऽपि च मण्डलनाभितामनुदितान्यसितातपवारणः । IX. 15.

[4] विपयान्तरो राजा शत्रुः मित्रमतः परम् ।
उदासीनः परतरः पार्ष्णिग्राहस्तु पृष्ठतः ॥ The Amarakosha. II. 8. 9.

3. Udāsina (Indifferent), situated next to no. 2.
4. Pārshṇigrāha (Rear Enemy), occupying the rear.

Mallinatha, while commenting on the Raghuvaṁśa, quotes Kāmaṇdaka, to explain the term 'maṇdala', who, following Kauṭilya, conceives the 'maṇḍala' as composed by tha following twelve types of states :[1]

1. Ari (Enemy)
2. Mitra (Ally).
3. Ari-mitra (Enemy's ally).
4. Mitra-mitra (Ally's ally).
5. Ari-mitra-mitra (Enemy's ally's ally).
6. Pārshṇi-grāha (Rear enemy).
7. Ākranda (Rear friend)
8. Pārshṇi-grāha-sāra (Rear enemy's ally)
9. Akranda-sāra (Rear ally's ally)
10. Madhyama (Neutral).
11. Udāsina (Indifferent or Negligible)
12. Vijigishu (conqueror).

The centre of all political relations was the aspirant for world-conquest. It was with reference to him that other states were conceived. The above list of states is simplified under four heads.[2]

1. Ari (Enemy)
2. Mitra (Ally)
3. Madhyama (Neutral)
4. Udāsina (Indifferent or Negligible)

The relationship with existing states was guided by four-fold policy[3]—(1) Sāma (reconciliation), (2) Dāna (subsidy), (3) Bheda (dissension) and (4) Daṇḍa (war). It was strongly advised that a ruler should not be a warmonger. After successively trying the first three steps and having failed, one should resort to the fourth step, war. According to Kālidāsa diplomacy without force is cowardice, but force

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1. Raghu. IX. 15 ; cf. The Arthsastra.
2. The Arthsastra VII. 1.
3. Raghu. XI. 55 ; Amara. II. 8. 20.

without diplomacy is beastly.[1] Force was not regarded as merely physical, but it consisted of—(1) Prabhāva (dignity), (2) Mantra (Council) and (3) Utsāha (courage).[2] In order to be successful in politics and diplomacy a ruler was expected to adopt the following six guṇas (expedients):[3]

1. Sandhi (peace)
2. Vigraha (war)
3. Āsana (neutrality)
4. Yāna (marching)
5. Saṁśraya (alliance)
5. Dvaidhi-bhāva (duplicacy)[4]

The aim of diplomacy was to maintain the balance of power among the neighbouring states, that is, an astute diplomat would not allow them either to become very strong or very weak. Kālidāsa[5] says, "Friends when kept in low position can never return favours, when kept in high rank they begin to act in a hostile way towards him, for this reason he placed his friends in an intermediate position." A policy of aggression was favoured only on the basis of political sagacity and knowledge : "Having made a just estimate of the military power, circumstances, time and others of his own and as well as those of his enemy, he made an invasion on him, if he thought himself more powerful than him (enemy) ; if otherwise, he remained silent."[6] Treaties and alliances once concluded were faithfully maintained.

The foreign policy of the state was strictly kept secret. It was difficult to guess its attitude and gestures towards the neighbouring states. Relations with other states were maintained through an efficent system of embassy. An ambassador was called 'Dūta' or 'Rājadūta'.

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[1] कातर्यं केवला नीतिः शौर्यं श्वापद्चेष्टितम् । Raghu. XVII. 47.

[2] शक्तयस्तिस्रः प्रभावोत्साहमंत्रजाः । The Amarakosha, II. 8. 19.

[3] The Amarakosha, II. 8. 18.

[4] Cf. the Arthsastra, VII. 1.

[5] Raghu. XVII. 58.

[6] Ibid. XVII. 59.

CHAPTER. IX.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

1. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Varṇa system was the basis of social organization during the time of Vikramāditya. Jainism and Buddhism had slackened the system ideologically, but they rendered no serious threat to the actual hierarchical division of society into four Varṇas. Even the Buddhist writer, Amarasiṁha, had to accept this fact. In his lexicon[1] he divides the society into four classes (vargas)—the Brāhmaṇavarga, the Kshattriyavarga, the Vaiśyavarga and the Śudravarga. The Jain writers also recognized this fact. For the Brahmanical writers it was an axiom. According to Kālidāsa the world consists of the four varṇas[2] and it was the duty of the ruler to see that the rules regarding them were observed.[3] It should be noted here that while the majority of the states of northern India became Buddhist or Jain, those of the Punjab, Rajputana, Sindhu, Central India and Surāshṭra remained Brahmanical and followed its social system in spite of their democratic republican constitution. The form of the state did not matter so far as the composition of the society was concerned. The entire social life revolved round Varṇa.

2. THE BRAHMAṆAS.

The highest order of the society was formed by the Brahmaṇas, who were called as Dvijāti (twice-born), Agrajanman (first-born), Bhūdeva (earthly god), Vāḍava (belonging to Indra=Vedic sacrifices) Vipra (poet) and Brāhmaṇa (the knower of Brahman).[1] The following epithets[2] were attributed to them, which shows what the society expected from them :

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[1] The Amarakosha, II. 7. 8. 9 and 10.

[2] चतुर्वर्णमयो लोकः । Raghu. X. 22.

[3] नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः । Raghu. XIV. 67.

1. Vidvān.
2. Vipaśchit.
3. Doshajña.
4. Sat.
5. Sudhi.
6. Kovida.
7. Budha.
8. Dhīra.
9. Manīshī.
10. Jña.
11. Prājña.
12. Saṁkhyāvān.
13. Paṇḍita.
14. Kavi.
15. Dhimān.
16. Sūri.
17. Kṛti.
18. Kṛshti.
19. Labdhavarṇa.
20. Vichakshaṇa.
21. Dūradarśi.
22. Dirghadarśi.
23. Śrotriya.
24. Chhāndasa.

The Brahmaṇas generally performed the traditional sixfold functions[3]—(1) Adhyayan (Learning), (2) Adhyāpana (Teaching), (3) Yajan (Sacrificing) (4) Yājana (Administering at sacrifices for others), (5) Dāna (charity) and (6) Paratigraha (Receiving Charity). Amongst professions, they almost monopolised teaching and they were famous as Gurus (Preceptors), Āchārya (a great interpretor of the Vedas), Ādeshtā (an instructor in a sacrifice), Adhyāpaka (a teacher) and an Upādhyaya (a teacher who charged for tuition).[4] In the contemporary literature the Brāhmaṇas also figure as ministers, administrators, hermits and sages.[5] Besides the traditional ones, they sometimes followed other professions also as exceptions. Some Brāhmaṇas employed themselves as jesters in the courts of kings. For instance the jester in Agnimitra's court was a Brāhmaṇa, who was given to levity and gluttony.[1] The Brāhmaṇas as a class, however, were still noted for purity, austerity, learning and compassion. Kaṇva and Marīchi in the Abhijñana Śākuntala represent the ideal Brāhmaṇa characters.[2]

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[1] The Amarakosha, II. 7. 4.

[2] Ibid, II. 7. 5-6.

[3] असौ षट्कर्मा यागादिभिर्वृतः Amarakosha, II. 7 4.

[4] Ibid. II. 7. 7-8.

[5] The Raghuvamsha.

3. THE KSHATTRIYAS.

In the social order, next to the Brahmaṇas, figured the Kshattriyas. They were known as :[3]

(1) Mūrdhābhishiktā (whose heads were besprinkled with holy waters at the time of coronation). This designation is indicative of kingly order.
(2) Rājanya (one belonging to the ruling family).
(3) Bāhuja (mythically-derived from the arms of the Cosmic Man).
(4) Kshattriya (one who protects from injuries).
(5) Virāj (one who shines).

The term Kshattriya was the most popular and it represented the basic function of the class, e.g., the protection of the society from harms. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa says[4], "No doubt the high sounding epithet of 'Kshattra' is so called because it is commonly known all over world that it protects others from hurt ; to one whose conduct is contrary to this spirit of what use is either kingdom or life stained by ignomy". The Kshattriyas were engaged as rulers, administrators army-leaders, commanders, soldiers and policemen.[5] The picture drawn here is, no doubt, traditional, but there is no doubt that the Kshattriyas formed the central and most powerful class of the society and on account of their political importance the social life revolved round them.

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1. The Malavikagnimitra. Act. II.
2. Acts. IV and VII.
3. The Amarakosha, II. 8. 1.
4. क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः । II. 53.
5. The Raghuvamsha and the dramas of Kalidasa.

4. THE VAISYAS.

In the grades of social organization the Vaiśyas occupied the third place. The epithets by which they were known in the society are given in the Amarakosha[1] as follows :

(1) Uravya (Born from the thighs of the Virāṭ Purusha).
(2) Uruja („)
(3) Aryā (Moving about in trade and commerce).
(4) Vaiśya (Entering different walks of life)
(5) Bhūmispṛś (Touching or tilling the earth)
(6) Viśaḥ (Subjects proper)

The first two epithets indicate the mythological origin of the community ; the third, the fourth and the fifth, its functions and the last its status in the society. As the Vaiśya class formed the economic basis of the society, the Amarakosha[2] associates with it the very conception of maintenance, expressed by the terms, ājiva, jivikā, vārtā, vṛtti, vartana and jivana all meaning livelihood. The profession followed by the vaiśyas were mainly three-fold, Kṛshi (agriculture), Pāśupālya (cattle-farming) and Vāṇijya (trade and commerce).[3] The agriculturist was called Kshetrājiva (living on fields), Karshaka (tiller), Kṛshaka (the same) and Kṛshivala (possessing farming).[4] Perhaps due to the excessive importance attached to the sanctity of animal life under the influence of Janism and Buddhism the profession of agriculture began to be regarded as anṛta[5] (something improper or low). The reason given for this characterization of agriculture is that it involved the sin of hiṁsā (injury to the living creatures).[1] Here we find the rationale as to why

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[1] II. 9. 1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. II. 9. 2.

[4] Ibid. II. 9. 6.

[5] Ibid. II. 9. 2.

[6] हिंसादोषप्रधानत्वादनृतं कृषिरुच्यते। Bhanuji Dikshita on the Amara. II. 9. 2.

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the more religiously conscientious Vaiśyas gave up agriculture and followed exclusively trade and commerce and as to why the agriculturists came to be associated with the Śudras who were not very particular regarding the sanctity of animal life. But even the profession of trade and commerce was not entirely free from stigma as it was called satyānṛta [a mixure of truth and false-hood].[1] The Vaiśyas followed the profession of usuary also, which was called 'arthaprayoga' (the application of money), kusīda and vṛddhijivika. The life of the people as pictured in the works of Kālidāsa and as described in the later literary creations, e. g., the Bṛhatkathā, the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī, the Kathā-Saritsāgara and the Jain Nibandhas is full of comforts and luxuries. The basis of this materially rich life was, no doubt, prosperous agriculture, trade and commerce and various types of industries followed and organized by the Vaiśyas. The trading class was generally rich and was respected by the society and the state.[2] The state was also particular regarding the interest and prosperity of the agriculturists and cattle-farmers, who were afforded all kinds of help and protection. Prayers were offered for plenty of rains in their interest.[3]

5. THE ŚUDRAS.

In the scheme of social organization the Śudras occupied the last place. Like the first three Varṇas they were also known by certain epithets. According to the Amarakosha[4] they were called as follows :

1. Śūdra (one that bends under affliction)
2. Avaravarṇa (low-caste)
3. Vṛshala (one who disregards vṛsha or dharma, e.g. the conduct of good life)

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[1] The Amarakosha, II. 9. 3.

[2] The Shakuntala, VI.

[3] भवतु तव, विडौजा प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु । Shak. VII. 34.

[4] The Amarakosha, II. 10. 1.

4. Jaghanyaja (born from the lowest part, the feet of the Virātpurusha.)

Theoretically only those, who lacked in initiative and fortitude, who were lax in the matters of diet and sex relations and who came from culturally backward communities, were classed as Śudras. But it appears that by this time the Varṇa system was no longer in a fluid condition and the incidence of birth began to play an important part in the classification of the Varṇas. Under the cirumstances, the progeny of the Śudras was perpetuated as Śudras and it suffered from permanent disabilities. As the Śudras were mostly engaged in domestic, agricultural and industrial labour, they are very seldom mentioned in the literary works of the time. The Amarakosha[1] however includes under Śûdra-varga numerous communities of craftsmen (Kāru, Śilpi). They figure therein as 'dāsas' and 'parichārikas' only. But inspite of certain disabilities from which the Śudras suffered, they were regarded as an integral part of the society, being included in the 'prakṛti' or 'prajā' and the state did not discriminate against them so far as the common good of the society was concerned.[2]

6. THE MIXED VARNAS (SAMKĪRNAS)

The Amarakosha,[3] following the Manusmṛti gives a list of mixed varṇas supposed to be formed by progeny born of inter-caste marriages, which were not encouraged by the Smṛtis. The list contains the following mixed varṇas :

1. Chāṇḍāla (born of Brāhmaṇi mother and Śūdra father).
2. Karaṇa (born of Śudra mother and Vaiśya father).
3. Ambashtha (born of Vsiśya mother and Brāhmaṇa father).

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[1] 11. 10.

[2] प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः । Shak. VII. 35.

[3] II. 10.

4. Ugra (born of Śudrā mother and Kshattriya father)
5. Māgadha (born of Kshattriya mother and Vaiśya father).
6. Māhishya [born of Vaiśya mother and Kshattriya father).
7. Kshattā (born of Vaiśya mother and Śudra father).
8. Sūta (born of Brāhmaṇi mother and Kshattriya father).
9. Vaidehaka (born of Brāhmani mother and Vaiśya father).
10. Rathakāra (born of Karaṇi mother and Māhishya father).

When the list is properly examined it becomes evident that the so-called mixed castes were originally ethnic, professional and political groups which were not favourably looked upon by the society. In spite of prohibitions intercaste marriages did take place in practice. So the Smṛtikāras threatened dire consequences and relegated the progeny born of such marriages to the status of communities and groups which were not occupying enviable positions in the society. The theory of Varṇa-saṁkara based upon mixed marriages is ethnologically and sociological untenable. Amarasiṁha was repeating Manu traditionally.

7. THE ANTYAJAS OR PEOPLES LIVING ON THE BORDER OF SETTLED SOCIETY.

In the literary works of Kālidāsa and in the lexicon of Amarasinha there is no direct reference to the existence of untouchability or invisibility but certain groups of people are mentioned, which were not fully assimilated in the society and were still living either socially or geographically on the outskirts of cultured habitations, and which were afterwards known as 'antyajas' or untouchables. The Amarakosha[1] gives the following variants of the Chāndālas, which were really speaking various groups of people classified with them : Chāṇḍāla, Plava, Mātaṅga, Divākīrti, Janaṅgama, Nishāda, Śvapacha, Antevāsi, Chāṇḍāla and Pukkasa. To these are added the ethnic groups and foreigners like the Kirātas, the Śabaras, the Pulindas and the Mlechchhas, The Raghuvaṁśa[1] mentions Śvagurika (possessing packs of hunting dogs). Vāgurika (one who hunts with nets) and dasyu (robbers) as living in forests away from the settled society. Kālidāsa also mentions the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, the Kirātas, the Yakshas etc. as outlandish peoples, most probably occupying the Himālayan regions. He further refers to the Mlechchhas, the Yavanas, the Pārasikas, the Hūṇas etc. who were obviously the foreigners living in the countries bordering on the N. W. frontiers of India. The mythical peoples like the Nāgas also figure in the works of Kālidāsa, who were undoubtedly human beings socially connected with settled groups of Indian people.[2]

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[1] The Amarakosha II. 10. 19-20.

8. THE FOUR ĀŚRAMAS.

Following the tradition preserved in the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis the contemporary works and also the later works dealing with the biography of Vikramāditya refer to the institution of Āśrama. The Amarakosha[3] mentions the four Āśramas as follows, into which the life of an individual was horizontally divided :-

1. Brahmacharya.	3. Vānaprastha.
2. Gṛhi.	4. Bhikshu.

The four Āśramas were really speaking the four successive stages in the life of an individual. The Āśrama was so called because—(1) either the people find relief in it or (2) the people put all-round labour in it for the observance of their duties.[4]

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[1] IX. 53.

[2] The Raghu. XVI.

[3] II. 7. 3.

[4] आश्रम्यन्त्यत्र अनेन वा । यद्वा आसमन्ताच्छ्रमोऽत्र स्वधर्मसाधनक्लेशात् ॥
Bhanuji Dikshita on the Amara. II. 7-3.

The first Āśrama Brahmacharya started, when, after the initiation ceremonies, the pupil was led to the teacher for learning and discipline.[1] The pupil spent the precious sixteen years of his early life with his teacher and permitted by him returned home with the intention of entering the second stage of life.[2] Generally the ordinary children had to go to the place of the teacher, but very often the royal children were taught at their own places by efficient and respectable teachers employed by their parents[3], for instance, Vikramāditya was educated at his own place.[4]

In the second stage of his life one became a Gṛhi (possessing a home). This stage was regarded as the basis and the centre of social life and every individual under normal conditions was expected to enter it. The second stage was regarded as capable of service to all.[5] In this Āśrama the householder had to free himself from Three Debts. "That king having freed himself from the debts due to the sages, gods and manes by means of the study of sacred books, performance of the sacrificial ceremonies and by recreating children, shone like hot-rayed luminary (the sun) freed from his misty circle,"[6] The exceptions to this common rule were only a very few persons who were either actuated by the urge of intense renunciation or were physically invalid. The rise and spread of Jainism and Buddhism, however, rendered a serious threat to this mode of graduated life and the number of exceptions shot up. The notable instances are those of Kālaka and Sarasvati, who were so closely connected with the history of Vikramāditya.

According to the Āśrama system the householder after spending the life of acquisition, enjoyment and social service

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1. अथोपनीतं विधिवद्विपश्चितो विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् । Raghu III. 29.
2. Ibid. V. 20-21.
3. Ibid. III. 29.
4. The Kathasarit. XVIII. 1.
5. कालोह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते । Raghu. V. 10.
6. Ibid VIII. 30.

for about twentyfive years entered the third stage of his life called Vānaprastha, a life of partial retirement, led in the retreats of neighbourring forests. "Raghu....having greeted him (his son), who had come back a victor, united to a worthy wife and having devolved the cares of the family on him became eager to lead a peaceful life ; for when there is one able to bear the yoke of the family, the descendants of the solar race do no longer cling to home."[1] The Kathāsaritsāgara also narrates that Mahendrāditya, the father of Vikramāditya, after having installed his son on the throne retired for a peaceful life.[2] But how far this partial retirement from home was common it is difficult to say. Jainism and Buddhism encouraged retirement from life any time one felt urge for it without compulsorily undergoing the stage of a householder. So, there occured a large number of cases of premature retirement.

The fourth stage of life according to the Amarakosha was that of 'Bhikshu.' The word obviously indicates the influence of Buddhism. In this Āśrama one abandoned all worldly attachments and became a wanderer living upon doles,[3] entirely devoted to the spiritual pursuit. "Then Raghu seeing his son firmly established among his subjects became indifferent even to heavenly objects of senses perishable by nature, in consequence of his knowledge of the soul."[4] Kālidāsa further tells us that the king put on the garments of the barks of trees and practised utter renunciation.[5] The cases of Bhikshuhood or Sanyāsa taken here are mostly from the ruling Kshattriya class and the Dharmaśāstric books require the Brahmaṇas to enter it as a rule. But the institution is not found associated with the people in general. The Bhikshus in the Buddhist and the Jain Saṁghas, though not

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1. Raghu, VII, 71,
2. XVIII, 1, 60.
3. भिक्षणशीलः । Bhanuji Dikshit on the Amarakosha, VII. 2. 2.
4. Raghu VIII, 10 ; XIX, 2,
5. Ibid, VIII, 16,

following the orthodox Āśrama system, increased the number of wanderers and ascetics.

9. THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE.

In the works contemporary of Vikramāditya marriage was recognized as a fundamental institution in society and all persons under normal conditions were expected to enter it. Amarasiṁha[1] calls marriage by various names—vivāha, pariṇaya, udvāha, upayāma and pāṇipīḍana. Various types of marriage as defined in the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis, except Daiva and Ārsha, are mentioned in the literary works. The most prevalent type, however, was Brāhma under which the parents of the bride invited the birdegroom and his party and offered to the groom the fully decorated girl according to the Vedic rites. The most typical instance of it is described by Kālidāsa in the form of Pārvati's marriage with Śiva.[2] The Prājāpatya type of marriage, according to which both the husband and the wife had equal rights in Dharma, Artha and Kāma (Religious ceremonies, Property and Enjoyment) is also mentioned.[3] The type of marriage known as Āsura, in the arrangement of which the guardian of the girl accepted bride-money, is alluded to, but at the same time it is characterized as tormenting the conscience of the man who received bride-money.[4] The Gāndharva type of marriage was generally fashionable among the Kshattriyas, who represented the most free element in the society.[5] Under this type the parties out of mutual attraction and a fit of passion, without taking the consent of the guardians or relations, consummated the marriage without Vedic rites. Marriages thus contracted were not very happy, as lust, a very fickle element in life, formed the basis of them. The case of Śakuntalā fully illustrates it. The instances of the last two types of marriages, the Rākshasa and the Paiśācha are found in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Jain Nibandhas dealing with the life of Vikramāditya, wherein the girls are described as being forcibly taken away against the wishes of their guardians and the wishes of their own. We also come across the cases where the girls were kidnapped and ravished while asleep or intoxicated.[1] As regards the respective merits and importance of the different types, the Brāhma and the Prājapatya were highly respectable; the Asura and the Gāndharva were tolerated but not favoured; the last two were condemned but legalised, because due to the social sensitiveness regarding the purity of sex, the ravished girls would not be acceptable to anybody else than the ravishers.

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[1] The Amarakosha, II. 7. 56. 57.

[2] The Kumar, VII

[3] Raghu.

[4] पीडितो दुहितृ-शुल्क संस्थया । Ibid. XI. 38.

[5] Sakuntala, III. 20.

Among the Kshattriyas, specially the ruling families, the customs of Svayaṁvara (the bride selecting her husband out of her free will in the assembly of suitors, and Praṇa-marriage (the bride-groom marrying the bride after fulfilling certain conditions) were current. The Dharmaśāstras do not refer to these customs but they are described in the works of Kālidāsa. The marriage of Indumati[2] falls under the first and that of Sitā[3] under the second custom. But both the customs were working under certain limitations; before actual marriage, the eligibility of the suitor or the competetor to marrying the bride was considered. The reason why the customs are not mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras is that under both the customs the marriages were solemnized according to the Brāhma type and the purpose of Dharma was served thereby.

There were certain limitations on the arrangement of marriage. Marriages were mostly contracted in the same Varṇa but outside the Gotra and Piṇḍa. Exceptions to the first limitation were still possible. There are instances of inter-caste (Asavarṇa) marriages, specially between the first two Varṇas, the Brahmaṇas and the Kshattriyas. Kālidāsa describes with a sense of approval the marriage of Agnimitra (a Brahmaṇa) with Mālavikā (a Kshattriyā)[1] and the Marriage of Dushyanta (a Kshattriya) with Śakuntalā (the fosterdaughter of a Brahmaṇa),[2] though in the second case he refers to some mental hitch on the part of Dushyanta. It seems that Anuloma marriage (marriage between the bridegroom of the upper Varṇa with the bride of the lower Varṇa) was still favoured, but Pratiloma marriage (marriage between the bridegroom of the lower Varṇa with the bride of the Upper Varṇa) was not liked though tolerated. The second limitation was generally respected, as no exceptions to it are mentioned. Some of the Buddhist republican tribes, like the Sākyas of northern India, which contracted sagotra marriages, were weakened politically and socially and they were coming again under Brahmanical discipline.

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[1] The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII 2 ; Puratana-Prabandha-Samgraha.

[2] Raghu. VI.

[3] Ibid, XI. 38 ff.

In almost all the cases of marriage described in the literary works the parties were grown-up and they could exercise their descrition and influence in the settlement of marriage. It was thought desirable that girls should be guided by the advice and choice of their parents and guardians: "Royalty, though deeply in love with the prince who had received education in due course from his tutors, and who now appeared more handsome by reasons of his budding youth, did wait for her master's consent like a patient daughter waiting for that of her father."[3] The opinion of the mother in this matter was considered more decisive than that of the father, though she generally followed the advice of her husband.[4] In the cases of love-marriage, which were exceptional, the guardians were not consulted and their

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1. The Malavikagnimitra.
2. The Raghuvamsa.
3. श्रीः साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकाङ्क्ष । Raghu V. 38.
4. प्रायेण गृहिणीनेत्राः कन्यार्थेषु कुटुम्बिनः । Kumar, VI, 85, 86.

advice was not solicited, though they thoght it often wise to accord their consent, because such marriages were already consummated and the refusal of the consent was of no avail. Kaṇva, the foster-father of Śakuntalā, highly approved of the Gāndharva marriage between her and Dushyanta.[1]

Irrespective of the methods of contracting marriage, it was thought necessary, at least desirable, that every type of marriage should undergo nuptial ceremonies, so that it may receive the religious and social sanction. The description of Umā's marriage by Kālidāṣa in his Kumārasaṁbhava[2] reflects the usual procedure adopted in the arrangement and the performance of marriage. First of all an auspicious day (Vaivāhikī tithi) was fixed. The house of the father of the bride and its surroundings were well decorated. On the day of marriage the person of the bride was profugely adorned. She underwent the Maṅgala-Snāna (Auspicious Bath) and was seated on the Kautuka-vedi where further decorations were finished. To her wrist an auspicious thread made of wool called Kautuka-hastasūtra was fastened by her mother. The bride-groom with a grand marriage party arrived at the house of the bride's father through a long marriage procession witnessed by the eager neighbours and relations of the father of the bride. The marriage party was duly received and the bride-groom was offered presents. The nuptials were performed before the sacred fire under the supervision of the family priest. The two main items of the marriage ceremonies were Pāṇi-grahaṇa (Grasping of Hand), symbolizing the responsibility of the husband regarding the maintenance of the wife and Agni-pradakshiṇa (Circumabulation round Fire) indicating the ceremonies being witnessed by Fire, the permanent sacramental element in the ceremonies. At the end of the ceremonies the bride and the bride-groom received blessings and presents from the elders and and the relatives. In a chariot the bride-groom came back to his own place with the bride and suitable dowry.[1] They had a happy honey-moon for several months after the completion of the ceremonies.

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[1] Sakuntala, III.

[2] VI and VII.

Marriage in the common people was generally monogamous. No trace of promiscuity or polyandry is found. But among the ruling and wealthy families polygamy was widely current. No stigma was attached to a polygamous man, though the first wives resented the arrival of co-wives: "The king has began to love Mālavika immensely, but in order to respect the feelings of the queen Dhāraṇikā, he kept himself aloof."[2] Many kings used to maintain big harems peopled by the choicest maidens of their age.[3] Even in the Antaḥpura (Zenana) of Vikramāditya, according to the mediaeval authorities, there were a large number of beautiful women. Almost in every war he brought a new wife. The rich merchants as a rule kept many wives. "If he was wealthy, he must have had many wives."[4] Kālidāsa refers, however, to honourable exceptions to polygamy, among wealthy and aristocratic classes, in his creations of Aja[5] and Rāma.[6] Aja's mourning on the death of his wife Indumati is proverbial. Rāma refused to accept a second wife at the time of the Horse-sacrifice and he had only an image of Sitā as his companion. Though the society tolerated polygamy, the ideal marriage conceived by the poets was monogamous.

The Ideal of Married Life.

The ideal of married life was perfect harmony between the husband and the wife in the matters of Dharma, Artha and Kāma and absolute fidelity to each other. The married life, however, was not always a life of happiness and comforts; it was essentially a life of responsibility, very often a life of sufferings and tribulations. In the observance of this ideal the husband was sometimes found slack, but the wife generally was devoted to this ideal. Kālidāsa pictures his female characters, specially his heroines, as the very image of love, sacrifice and even self-efacement. Rāma, while discharging his kingly obligations, treated Sitā rather strictly and exiled her in the advanced stage of pregnancy. Sitā on her own part, without any grudge towards her husband, uttered the following words, an unrivalled expression of wifely sentiment: "Thus circumstanced as I am, I shall after the birth of the child so try to practise asceticism with my eyes fixed at the sun, that in the next life I may have you my husband without separation."[1] Rāma, though a stern king, was full of sentiment for his wife, when the words of Sitā were conveyed to him through Lakshmaṇa "his eyes became full of tears and he began to drop them, as the full moon of the month of Pausha pours dews."[2] The duties of an ideal wife are given by Kālidāsa in the following words: "Honour thy elders. Be a loving friend to your co-wives. Should thy husband treat you with harshness, thou must never be harsh in return. Be courteous to thy menials. Be not puffed up when fortune smiles. Thus to thy husband's house those shall prove a blessing and not a curse."[3] The ideal married life must be fruitful. Children were welcomed in the home and they were brought up and educated with tender affections. That man was really regarded blessed, whose body was besmeared with dust brought by children while playing in his lap.[4]

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[1] सत्वानुरूपाहरणी । Raghu, VII, 32,

[2] The Malavikagnimitra, III. ; Shak. Act. VI.

[3] प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः समधिकतररूपाः । Raghu. XVIII. 53.

[4] Shak. VI.

[5] Raghu VIII. 52.

[6] Raghu XV.

10. THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN SOCIETY.

The following variants of 'Woman' given by Amarasiṁha[5] show how she was viewed by the society :

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[1] भूयो यथा मे जन्मान्तरेऽपि त्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः । Raghu. XIV. 6.

[2] वभूव रामः सहसा सबाष्पस्तुषारवर्षीव सहस्यचन्द्रः । Raghu. XIV. 84.

[3] Shak. IV.

[4] अङ्काश्रयप्रणयिनस्तनयान्वहन्तो धन्यास्तदङ्गरजसा मलिनी भवन्ति । Shak. VII. 17.

[5] Amarakosha, II. 6. 2-4.

1. Strī (capable of producing children)
2. Yoshit (serviceable)
3. Abalā (having a little strength)
4. Yoshā (loving)
5. Nārī (belonging to man)
6. Simantini (having long hairs)
7. Vadhū (enduring)
8. Pratipa-darśini (looking indirectly)
9. Vāmā (pouring love)
10. Vanitā (with rising passions)
11. Mahilā (respectable)
12. Aṅganā (possessing good limbs)
13. Bhiru (timid)
14. Kāmini (having excessive desire)
15. Vāma-lochanā (having passion in her eyes)
16. Pramadā (full of intoxication)
17. Mānini (proud)
18. Kāntā (pleasant)
19. Lalanā (fondled)
20. Nitambini (having big hips)
21. Sundarī (beautiful)
22. Ramaṇi (enjoyable)
23. Rāmā (pleasing)
24. Kopanā (given to anger)
25. Bhāminī (showing anger)
26. Varārohā (possessing big hips)
27. Mattakāśinī (shining while drunk)
28. Uttamā (the best)
29. Varavarṇini (having pleasant complexion).[1]

The conception of 'woman', as suggested by the words used for her, is racial, physical, aesthetic and erotic. The words had been in use since long and they were based on the primitive sexual distinction of woman, though they survived in this age and were employed without due regard to their original meaning. If we study the literary works of this period, we find that woman figured in a wider field of life besides her primitive and elemental scope.

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[1] शीते सुखोष्णा सर्वाङ्गी ग्रीष्मे या सुखशीतला ।
भर्तृभक्ता च या नारी सा भवेद्वरवर्णिनी ॥ रुद्रः quoted by Bhanuji Dikshita in his gloss on the Amarakosha. I have followed Bhanuji in translating the variants of 'woman' into English.

As revealed by the works of Kālidāsa woman enjoyed a high status in society. She as a daughter was fondled affectionately in the family and brought up and educated by the parents with care, though with a sad feeling that she was only an obligation and that one day she was to be given away. "A daughter is a loan, a precious jewel lent to parents till her husband claims her. And now that to her rightful lord and master I have delivered her, my burdened soul is lightened and I seem to breathe more freely."[1] She was supposed to be under the tutelage of her guardians, yet she had the freedom of movement and enjoyed the right of choice in selecting her life-mate, specially in svayaṁvara and the Gandharva type of marriage.

As a wife she was the mistress of the family, though legally she was dependent upon her husband. "In sooth I am the lord of the earth only in name while my love fettered by deep emotions is centred only in thee."[2] The husband held the wife in a very high esteem. Aja, while bemoaning the death of Indumati, says, "Thou wert my only wife, thou my counsellor, thou my companion in solitude, my beloved pupil in fine arts ; in short, by taking thee away, say, what things of mine has not death, averse to pity, robbed me of."[3] The wife was a constant companion of her husband in the performance of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, where she enjoyed equal rights. In the performance of religious duties her presence was so indispensable by the side of her husband that in her absence some substitute of her must be provided. When Rāma performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the absence of Sitā he had a golden image of her by his side.[1] As regards the marriage of a daughter her opinion was regarded superior to that of her husband.[2]

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[1] अर्थों हि कन्यापरकीय एव तामद्य संप्रेष्य परिगृहीतुः ।
जातो ममायं विशदः प्रकामं प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ॥ Shak. IV. 22.

[2] Raghu. VIII. 52.

[3] Ibid. VIII. 67.

The moment a woman became mother her value was raised in the eyes of people. As a mother she was always an object of honour and adoration. So far as respect was concerned the mother had a precedence over the father also. When Rāma returned from Lankā to Ayodhyā his first act was to appraoach his mothers and pay affectionate respect to them.[3] In his all biographical narratives Vikramāditya is described as greatly devoted to his mother.[4]

The literary works throw sufficient light on the religious and social status of a woman in the society, but we do not have any clear idea of her economic status from them. She certainly brought adequate Āharaṇi[5] (dowry and presents) from her father at the time of her marriage, which formed the main part of her Stridhana (the Property of Woman), but what were her rights in the property of her husband it is difficult to say in the absence of sufficient evidences. There is one scene in the Abhijñana Śakuntala[6] of Kālidāsa which reflects the status of a woman regarding her right to the property owned by her husband :

The king says: 'What ! Has the sea-merchant Dhanamitra perished in a ship-wreck ? The poor man had no issue. The minister writes that his entire property is to be forfeited to the state. What a calamity is it to be without an issue ! Vetra-

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1. Raghu. XIV. 87.
2. Kumara VI. 85.
3. Raghu. XIV.
4. Vikramarka-sattvaprabandhasamgraha.
5. Raghu. VII. 32.
6. VI. after verse 22.

vati, the wealthy merchant must have a number of wives. It should be ascertained whether any one of them is pregnant. × × × The child in the womb is entitled to inherit the ancestral property."

The above passage indicates that the wife could not inherit the property of her husband, though some provision was made by the state for her maintenance. The latter possibility is suggested by the announcement of the king: "It is immaterial whether one has got an issue or not. It should be proclaimed that Dushyanta (the king) is the kith and kin of those, who have lost their (natural) kith and kin, excepting the wicked." The forfeiture of property to the state even when the wife survived the husband, shows that woman, as an independent individual could not own a property and the state exercised a kind of primitive socialism and would not allow the property of a man travel to his distant relatives. The economic disability of woman is obvious.

As regards the freedom of making a choice and the freedom of movement woman enjoyed them to a great extent. She could not be forced to marry and she could lead a celebate ascetic life, if she so decided. Under the Brahmanical system of life she was required, however, to live in hermitages under the supervision of distinguished sages. The Āśrama of Kaṇva described by Kālidāsa had a number of celebate female members.[1] Under the influence of Buddhism a large number of women became Bhikshuṇis or Theris and could move out freely. This freedom of movement was not confined to a few Parivrājikas, Bhikshuṇis or the daughters of forest-dwelling sages, but it was shared by queens, matrons and housewives.[2] Yet certain amount of privacy was observed by women. The Buddhist nuns had an establishment separate from that of the monks. The works of Kālidāsa refer to the

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[1] Sak. I. II, VII.

[2] The Malavikagnimitra.

'avarodhanas' and the 'antaḥpuras.' of the kings and wealthy persons.[1] These words, however, do not prove the existence of the Purda system in the current sense of the term, which mean the covering of the bodies of women from the sight of people. They simply mean the inner apartments of aristocratic women well proteted and well guarded, Even this partial seclusion of women was not universal and it was limited to only aristocratic families. There was also no compulsary custom of Sati prevalent in the days of Vikramāditya. We come across many widows, who survived the deaths of their husbands.[2] Some women, no doubt, perished on the funeral pyre of their husbands, but many would not do so. Pregnant women, as a rule, were prohibited from becoming Satis.[3] The case of Rati as given in the Kumāra-sambhava[4] is worth consideration. While pouring the following sentiments she appears to be very anxious to follow her burnt husband Kāma : "That the moonlight goes with the moon ; the lightning is dissolved with the cloud and the women go the way of their husbands is understood by even those of little sense." But she herself was consold and persuaded from burning herself. From her words, however, it seems that the custom of Sati was not dead. It is just possible that the custom of Sati was fairly common among the republican people of Rajputana and Central India. The Greeks had observed the existence of this custom among the ancestors of these people a few centuries earlier in the Punjab.[5]

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1. Raghu. I. 32 ; IV. 68 ; XVI. 25, 58, 71 ; Kumara. VII. 12.
2. Kumara. IV. 1.
3. Raghu. XIX. 56.
4. IV. 33
5. Mac Crindle, A. I. I. p. 367.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

1. INTRODUCTORY.

In the first century B. C. the three main religions of India–Vedic religion, Jainism and Buddhism–had been living together well nigh for the past five hundred years and had influenced one another by way of re-action and synthesis. They possessed a number of common features, though they preserved their independent entities. For the sake of convenience these religions will be dealt with separately and their salient aspects will be brought out.

2. VEDIC RELIGION.

After the fall of the Mauryas, who were the patrons of Buddhism and Jainism, the two heterodox and reformist religious movements, the Brahmanical Śungas revived Vedic religion with its pantheon, theology and ritualism. In contrast to the republican people of northern India who had themselves succumed to the influence of Vedic religion the republics of Rajputana and Central India were Brahmanical in their faith and worship and the Vedic revival continued during the period of Vikramāditya also. As a matter of fact the very conception of Dharma (religion) was that of Mimāṁsa: "Dharma is that which is done in accordance with the instructions given in the Veda."[1] In the contemporary works there are frequent references to Vedic gods and Vedic rituals. The following Vedic gods are often mentioned : Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Vishṇu, Āditya, Soma, Purusha, Prajāpati, Śiva,

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[1] धर्मस्तु तद्विधिः । Amarakosha, I. 2. 6.

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Rudra, Yama, Vāyu. They were invited on various sacrificial occasions and their blessings were sought. The method of worshipping these gods was mainly twofold—(1) Prayer and (2) Sacrifice. Different types of prayers were offered, containing requests to gods for conferring the good things of life upon the devotees. Indra was still associated with rains. "May Indra cause profuse rains for the people and you many propitiate the wielder of the thunderbolt (Indra) with extensive sacrifices."[1] Different types of prayers were offered to different Vedic gods. As regards sacrifices they appear to be very common and the Raghuvaṁśa describes the Brahmans constantly engaged in them under the patronage of the state: "They (the royal couple) reverently accepted the efficacious blessings after receiving the offerings of arghya of sacrificers in villages which were previously granted to them by themselves and which were conspicuous with their sacrificial posts."[2] We are further told, "With the sacrificial posts erected on the banks, propels her waters by the capital of Ayodhyā, the waters which are made more holy (than before) by Ikshvāku kings who entered into them for the sacred oblations necessary for the Aśvamedha sacrifices."[3] Long drawn sacrifices are also referred to. "She is at present staying in neiher regions, the gates of which are closed by serpents with a view to supply ghee to Prachetas engaged in a long continued satra (sacrifice)."[4] The rulers performed special political sacrifices like Aśvamedha[5], Viśvajit and Rājasūya,[6] which were symbolic of paramountcy in the country. The compulsory domestic rituals to be performed

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1. भवतु तव विडौजा प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं भावयेथा:
—Shak. VII 35.
2. I. 44.
3. Ibid. XI. 17.
4. Raghu. I. 80.
5. Ibid. XV. 58 ff ; the Malavikagnimitra
6. Ibid. V. 1.

by householders included the daily Pañcha-mahāyajñas[1]—Brahma-yajña (study of sacred books), Devayajñas (sacrifices to gods), Pitṛyajña (offerings to manes); Atithiyajñas (entertaining guests) and Bhūtayajñas (offerings to creatures)—and the Saṁskāras.[2]—Jātakarma, (birth ceremonies), Nāmakaraṇa (naming ceremonies), Chaula (Tonsure), Upanayana (Initiation), Samāvartana (Finishing the Study), Vivāha (Marriage) and Antyeshṭi (Funerals). Śrāddhas to the manes were also regularly offered.[3] Kāmya (optional) sacrifices like Putreshṭi (sacrifice for obtaining a son) were sometimes performed.[4] The revitalised Vedic religion first under the patronage of the Śungas and later under the Brahmanical republican states gathered momentum and was still a living force. This fact is further evidenced by the Nandsa Yupa inscriptions of the third century A. D. According to this inscription the Mālavas performed, even so late, the rare Ekashashṭi sacrifice for the happiness of the people.[5]

3. NEW TENDENCIES IN THE VEDIC RELIGION.

Though the Vedic religion was revived and revitalised, it could not prevent the rise of new tendencies stimulated by new religious thoughts and beliefs which were influencing it from different quarters. Consequently, the Vedic religion entered a phase of transformation and developed many new features. The Vedic pantheon underwent a change. The great human personalities of Mahāvira and Buddha helped the completion of the Brahmanical personification of God, gods and goddesses, facilitated the birth of the full-fledged conception of Avatāravāda (Re-incarnation of God) and even encouraged the worship of deities and divine beings in human forms. Brahmanism took full advantage of this situation and effected a new synthesis in the religious history of India. Under Vedic influence God or gods were the objects of worship ; under Jain and Buddhist influence man became the object of adoration ; under the present synthesis God-in-man became the object of devotion.

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[1] Raghu. II. 15,

[2] Ibid. X. 78; XV, 31 ; X, 4,

[3] Ibid, I, 68 ff,

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ep. Ind, Vol, XXVII.

The Vedic gods and goddesses assumed new names and new shapes. We give below only a few illustrations. Indra, the great Vedic god, is given the following names[1] with different conceptions and associations :

1. Indra.
2. Marutvān.
3. Maghavā.
4. Vidaujā.
5. Pākaśāsana.
6. Vṛddha-śrava.
7. Śunasira.
8. Purahūta.
9. Purandara.
10. Jishṇu.
11. Lekharshabha.
12. Śakra.
13. Śatamanyu
14. Divaspati.
15. Sutraman.
16. Gotrabhid.
17. Vajrin.
18. Vāsava.
19. Vṛtrahan.
20. Vṛshan.
21. Vāstoshpati.
22. Surapati.
23. Balārāti.
24. Śachipati.
25. Jambhabhedin.
26. Harihaya.
27. Svārāt.
28. Namuchisūdana.
29. Saṁkrandana.
30. Duśchyavana.
31. Turāshat.
32. Meghavāhana.
33. Akhandala.
34. Sahasrāksha.
35. Ribhukshan.

Indra's wife Indrāṇi, who was a mere concept, assumed a form and two other names Śachi and Pulomajā.[2] The capital of Indra Amarāvati; his horses Uchchaiśravāḥ ; his charioteer Mātali; his garden Nandana ; his palace Vaijayanta; his sons Jayanta and Pākaśāsani ; his elephants Airāvata, Abhramātanga, Airāvaṇa and Abhramuvallabha ; his thunderbolts Hrādini, Vajra, Kuliśa, Bhidura, Pavi, Śatakoti, Svaru,

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[1] The Amarkosha, I. 1. 44-47.

[2] Ibid. I. I. 61.

Śamba, Dambholi and Aśani; his cars Vyomayāna and Vimāna; his assembly Sudharmā or Devasabhā are all concretely conceived.

Other Vedic gods Varuṇa[1], Agni,[2] Visṇu,[3] Śiva[4] Yama,[5] Vāyu,[6] Brahma[7] etc. are also transformed and variously renamed. Besides the process of transformation there was the process of creation and addition also. A large number of new gods and goddesses appeared on the scene. Balarāma, Kāma, Lakshmi, Pārvati, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Kubera etc. played important part in the new pantheon.[8] Semi-gods and semigoddesses figured prominently, as, Kinnara, Gandharva, Vidyādhara, Yaksha, Garuḍa.[9] Apsarā, Vanadeva etc. People believed in the existence of Rakshasa, vampires, and various kinds of evil spirits.[10]

With the development of new features in the pantheon new methods of worship and new devices for achieving religious merits were introduced. When the full personification of gods was effected, idol-worship became popular. An idol was called Pratimāna, Pratibimba, Pratimā, Pratiyātanā, Pratichhāyā, Pratikṛti, Archa and Pratinidhi.[11] The idols were enshrined in temples known as Niketana,[12] Devāyatana[13], Devālaya etc.[14] The temple priest was called Devala[15] and his status in society was that of a Śudra, which show that

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1. The Amarakosha, I, 1- 48-51.
2. Ibid. I. 18-23.
3. Ibid. I. 1. 29.
4. Ibid. I 1. 32-36.
5 Ibid. I. 1. 61-62.
6. Ibid. I. 1. 64-66.
7. Ibid. I. 1. 16-17.
8. Ibid. I. 1.
9. Ibid. I. 1. ; Raghu. ; Kumara. ; Shak.
10. Ibid.
11. The Amarakosha, II. 10. 36 36.
12. The Meghaduta,
13 The Raghuvainsha.
14. Ibid.
15. The Amarakosha, II. 10.

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there was still a prejudice in favour of Vedic rituals and idol-worship was looked down upon. Pilgrimage to sacred places and bathing in the sacred rivers became a common feature of religion. The Brahmaṇas were highly respected and charity to them was regarded meritorious.[1] Cow became an object of respect and adoration and no price was thought to be too high for protecting her from harm [2] Self-torture and asceticism which had already been popularised by Jainism and Buddhism gained ground in the society.[3] Contemporary literature refers to penances,[4] self-torture[5] and Yoga-practices.[6]

4. BRAHMANICAL CULTS.

The transformation of some of the Vedic concepts and gods led to the foundation of certain cults in the Brahmanical religion. Upanishadic Brahman which was conceived as the ultimate reality and the basis of the universe, was transformed into Brahmā the Creator. Vishṇu who was one of the aspects of the sun, and measured the entire sky with his long strides and whose abode was full of cows and honey, assumed the form of Vishṇu, the Maintainer. The terrible Rudra of the Vedic period, who in course of time had become Siva, the Auspicious, combined both the aspects—destructive and creative—in him. In earlir times Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva were regarded as three aspects of the same reality and they formed the Trinity of Brahmanism. But during the century preceding the Christian era each of them formed a cult and his followers regarded him as representing the reality entirely and invested him with all the powers and functions of God.

(1) The Cult of Brahmā.

The cult of Brahmā, on account of his subtle and

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1. The Malavikagnimitra, v. 3, 5,
2. The Raghu. 1, 75, 84, 85 ; The Mala, IV.
3. The Raghu, XIII, 38-41
4. Ibid, 1; 56 ; The Kumar, V.
5. Ibid, XV, 45,
6. Ibid.

unexpectaclular activities, though not very popular was in existence and he was known under the following names :[1]

(a) Brahmā.
(b) Ātmabhūḥ.
(c) Surājyeshṭha.
(d) Parameshṭhi.
(e) Pitāmaha.
(f) Hiraṇyagarbha.
(g) Lokeśa.
(h) Svayambhūḥ.
(i) Chaturānana.
(j) Dhātā.
(k) Abjayoni.
(l) Druhiṇa.
(m) Virañchi.
(n) Kamalāsana.
(o) Srashṭā.
(p) Prajāpati.
(q) Vedhā.
(r) Vidhātā.
(s) Viśvasṛja.
(t) Vidhi.

The first two names of Brahmā refer to his self-existence the next three to his priority and of the rest the majority is symbolic of his creative faculty. His names Abjayoni and Kamalāsana are mythological but they are indicative of a subtle process which was going on in religion. The lotus (abja or kamala), from which Brahmā was supposed to be born or on which he was sitting, emanated, according to mythology, from the navel of Vishṇu. This picturesque mythological conception shows how Vishnu was 'annexing the priority of Brahmā and assimilating him in his own self. Yet Brahmā was retaining his powers and functions to a great extent, as it is evident from the following prayer contained in the Kumārasaṁbhava,[2] which was offered to him by the assemblage of gods :

"Salutation to you of three-fold nature, though remaining one before the creation and assuming different forms for the sake of the division of guṇas into three—Sattva [light], Raja [activity] and Tamas [Inertia]. × × × 'You simply sing-

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[1] The Amarakosha, I. 16-17.

[2] नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक्सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥
तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।
प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकः कारणतां गतः II, 4, 6.

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your own greatness through three states. You are the only cause of Creation, Maintenance and Destruction...."

But it must be stated that Brahmā remained more or less conceptual and could not claim a large number of votaries in actual worship and devotion.

(2) The Cult of Vishṇu.

The cult of Vishṇu was far more vigorous than that of Brahmā and it attracted a large number of devotees. The existence of this cult was observed by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes in the fourth century B. C. at Mathura, the birthplace of Krishṇa, which formed a great centre of Vaishṇavism.[1] From here it was radiating to other parts of India. In the last quarter of the second century B. C. at Vidiśa (= modern Bhilsa in central India), the second capital of the Śungas, Bhāgavata (Vaishṇava) religion was a popular faith. The Besnagar Garuḍa-Pillar inscriptin informs us that, 'the Garuḍa-staff of Vāsudeva, God of gods, was erected by the Bhāgavata Heliodoros, the son of Dion, an ambassador from Antialkidos, the Greek king at Takshaśilā, who had come to the court of the king Bhāgabhadra in the fourteenth year of his prosperous reign.'[2] The fact that foreigners like the Geeeks were embracing the cult of Vishṇu is a positive proof of its vitality and popularity. The existence of Vaisṇavism in Western India is evidenced by the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas which refer to the worship of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa, the two members of the Pāñcharātra-Vyūha.[3]

In the Amarkosha[4] Vishṇu is known by the following names which throw light on his various aspects :

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[1] Mac Crindle : Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian. pp. 201-202 ; Bhandarkar, R. G. : Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems, IV, part I, pp. 12-13.

[2] Ep. Ind. Vol X. App. P. 2 : J. S. B., LVI. I. 77-78.

[3] Arch. Serv. West Ind. Vol V pp. 60, 86.

[4] I. 1. 18-23.

(1) Vishṇu
(2) Nārāyaṇa
(3) Kṛshṇa
(4) Vaikuṇṭha
(5) Vistaraśravas
(6) Dāmodara
(7) Hṛshikeśa
(8) Keśava
(9) Mādhava
(10) Svabhū
(11) Daityāri
(12) Puṇḍarikāksha
(13) Govinda
(14) Garudadhvaja
(15) Pitāmbara
(16) Achyuta
(17) Śārṅgin
(18) Viśvakshema
(19) Janārdana
(20) Upendra
(21) Indrāvajra
(22) Chakrapāṇi
(23) Chaturbhuja
(24) Padmanābha
(25) Madhuripu
(26) Vāsudeva
(27) Traivikrama
(28) Devakinandana
(29) Śauri
(30) Śripati
(31) Purushottama
(32) Vanamālin
(33) Balidhvaṁsin
(34) Kaṁsārāti
(35) Adhokshaja
(36) Viśvaṁbhara
(37) Kaitabhajit
(38) Vidhu
(39) Śrivatsalāñchhana
(40) Purāṇapurusha
(41) Yajñapurusha
(42) Narakāntaka
(43) Jalaśāyin
(43) Viśvarūpa
(45) Mukunda
(46) Muramardana

The above list shows that by this time the identification of Vishṇu with Kṛshṇa Vasudeva was complete and he is endowed with a large number of monotheistic, historical and mythological attributes and epithets. Kālidāsa also refers to the conception of Vishṇu in his works: "No sooner did they (gods) reach the ocean, Vishṇu the primaeval spirit, awoke...The denizens of heaven saw him reclining on a seat made up of the serpent, and whose body was illuminated by the luminous jems on its expansive hoods; him who had his feet resting on the lap of the goddess Lakshmi seated as she was on a lotus etc."[1] The belief in the re-incarnation of Vishṇu was fully ingrained in the mind of people and the poet reflects the same in the

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[1] The Raghuvamsha, X. 6-8.

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following words: "Such as I am taking birth as the son of Daśaratha, I shall make the heap of his lotuslike heads a fit oblation for the battlefield with my sharp arrows."[1]

One gets puzzled at the fact that Kālidāsa nowhere refers to actual Vishṇu-worship in his works as he does to the existence of Śiva-worship. But a little thought will easily explain this important omission. The personal religion of Kālidāsa and that of his patron was Śaivism; Ujjayini, where Kālidāsa lived mostly, unlike Vidiśa which was a centre of Vaishṇavism, was the centre of Śaivism. Thus his emotional set up and surroundings were not in favour of adequate attention to Vishṇu-worship. Moreover, the particular re-incarnation of Vishṇu which appealed to Kālidāsa was Rāma, a fact which is suggested by his choice of Rāma's family as the subject of his great epic Rahguvaṁśa. Though Rama was recognized as an avatāra of Vishṇu, the cult of Rāma-worship was not yet developed; instead, the prevalent cult of worship was that of Kṛshṇa Vāsudeva for which Kālidāsa, perhaps, had no appetite and was satisfied with the old mythological conception of Vishṇu as given above and did not worry about the actual worship of Vishṇu.

(3) The Cult of Śiva.

The cult of Śiva was fairly popular during this age. Amarasiṁha[2] gives the following names of Śiva which are indicative of his various aspects:

1. Śambhu.
2. Īśa.
3. Paśupati.
4. Śiva.
5. Śūlī.
6. Maheśvara.
7. Īśvara.

25. Kapālabhṛit.
26. Vāmadeva.
27. Mahādeva.
28. Virūpāksha.
29. Trilochana.
30. Kṛśānuretas.
31. Sarvajña.

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[1] Ibid. X. 44.

[2] The Amarakosha I. 1. 32-36.

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8. Śarva.
9. Īśāna.
10. Śaṅkara.
11. Chandraśekhara.
12. Bhūteśa.
13. Khandaparśu.
14. Girīśa.
15. Giriśa.
16. Mṛḍa.
17. Mṛtyuñjaya.
18. Kṛttivāsa.
19. Pinākin.
20. Pramathādhipa.
21. Ugra.
22. Kapardin.
23. Śrikaṇṭha.
24. Śitikaṇṭha.
32. Dhūrjaṭi.
33. Nilalohita.
34. Hara.
35. Smarahara.
36. Bharga.
37. Tryambaka.
38. Tripurāntaka.
39. Gaṅgādhara.
40. Andhakaripu.
41. Kratudhvaṁsin.
42. Vṛshabhadhvaja.
43. Vyomakeśa.
44. Bhava.
45. Bhīma.
46. Sthāṇu.
47. Rudra.
48. Umāpati.

From the list of Śiva's names it can beeasily gathered that though he still retained some awkward features, his original terrible form was almost merged in his auspicious form; he was the Lord of the universe but he mostly used his power for the happiness and the peace of the world. This appears to be the reason why he was getting more and more popular. The names of Śiva also suggest that he was being worshipped in his iconic form in temples....His main emblems[1] were a matted lock of hair (kaparda or jaṭājūṭa), a bow (pināka or ajagave), a trident (triśula), an axe (khanḍaparaśu), a garland of skulls (Kapālabhṛt), an elephant hide etc. His body was besmeared with ashes (vibhūti, bhūti or aiśvarya).[2] He had a large number of attendants collectively called Pramatha.[3] The spouse of Śiva was Umā or Pārvati who was known by various names, as, Kātyāyani, Gauri, Kāli, Haimavati, Īśvari, Sivā, Bhavāni, Rudrāṇi, Sarvāṇi, Sarvamangalā, Aparṇā, Durgā, Mṛḍāni, Chaṇḍikā, Aryā, Dakshāyanī, Girijā etc.[1] His conveyance was Nandi, the great bull.[2] The sons of Śiva Gaṇeśa and Skanda also became important gods and had their cults of worship.[3].

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[1] The Amarakosha, I. 1. 37 . 32:36

[2] Ibid. I. 1. 38

[3] Ibid, 1, 1. 37.

Ujjayinī was a great centre of Śaivism. Kālidāsa, the great poet of the age, who lived at Ujjayinī and whose personal faith was Śaivism, diverted the route of his Cloud-Messenger and instructed him to visit the holy city of Ujjayinī and attend the worship of Mahākāla (Śiva) there: "Thou reaching Mahākāla at any other time (than the evening), thou shouldst stay (wait), O cloud, till the sun is lost to human eyes and when the evening worship of Śiva is performed you should also attain the full merits of your thundering sound (by offering it as a present)."[4] The mediaeval Jain writers have recorded a repeated tradition that the father of Vikramāditya, Gardabhilla, was a Śaivite and Vikramāditya himself followed his ancestral faith till he was converted to Jainism by a Jain sage.[5] The popularity of Śaivism is also proved by other circumstantial evidences.’ It was almost about the same time that the Cult of Pāśupati (Śiva) was founded by Lakuliśa in Lāta (southern Gujrat) and it was spreading to the areas nearby. In the first century A. D., slightly later than the age of Vikramāditya, the prevalence of Śaivism is evidenced by a number of Kushāṇa coins, bearing the efigy of Śiva with his familiar emblems.[6]

The philosophical conception of Śiva as given by Kālidāsa is pantheistic. Śiva was believed to be himself all that exists, as well as the cause of all that is, and also mani-

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1. Ibid. I. 1. 38-40.
2. Ibid. I. 1. 43.
3. Ibid. I. 1. 40-41.
4. अप्यन्यस्मिन्जलधर महाकालमासाद्य काले स्थातव्यं ते नयनविषयं यावदत्येति भानुः । कुर्वन्सन्ध्याबलिपटहतां शूलिनः श्लाघनीयामामन्द्राणां फलमविकलं लप्स्यसे गर्जितानाम् ॥ Megh. I. 38.
5. Vide the Jain Nibandhas.
6. Fleet ; J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 419.

festing in various forms: "May Īśa (Siva), while pleased, protect you through his eight manifest forms—Water which was the first creation of the creator; Fire which bears the oblations properly offered (to gods); the Sun and the Moon which regulate time; Sound, which is the object of audition and pervades the universe; the Earth which is the base for sowing the seeds of all creatures; and Air through which the creatures live."[1]

5. JAINISM.

The history of Jainism in the first century B. C. is very vague and uncertain. But a century and a half earlier under Samprati, the greatest of the later Mauryas, who occupies the same place in Jainism as Aśoka does in Buddhism, Jainism had a considerable progress and Ujjayini, the capital of Samprati, was a great centre of Jainistic activities. The Śungas, who were the champions of Vedic religion, seem to have upset the religious balance in Central India from their second capital at Vidiśa. All available evidences show however, that Jainism lingered on in northern India and made good progress at least in Mathura, Avanti, Surāshṭra and Orissa. Some archaeological remains, sculptural and epigraphical, found at Mathura and assigned to this period indicate that Jainism had a good following there.[2] The cave sculpture at Udayagiri in Orissa, belonging to the same period, also testifies to the flourishing condition of Jainism in that part of the country.[3] The Jain Nibandhas have recorded a number of traditions which closely associate Jainism with Surāshṭra and Avanti in the first century B. C. The great Jain saints like Kālakāchārya wandered in Surāshṭra and Avanti and taught Jainism to the people.[4] Some of the Jain sources claim Vikramāditya as a convert to Jainism: "Then Siddhasena Divākara, in Ujjayini, having caused the breaking of the

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[1] The Abhijnana-Shakuntala, I. 1.

[2] Ep. Ind. Vol. X. App. pp. 1-26.

[3] V. A. Smith: History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylone, p. 84.

[4] The Prabhavaka-Charita, IV.

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phallic symbol of Mahākāla and the appearance of the image of Pārśvanātha enlightened Vikramāditya."[1] All foregoing evidences show that in the age of Vikramāditya Jainism was a living and active religion and it was influencing the life of people.

The process of dividing Jainism into sects was also apace during this period. There was a long-standing difference of opinion in the followers of Jainism. The difference centred round the main point whether the monks should put on garments or not. The one section held that they could, the other was opposed to it. Ultimately the two sections developed into two sects within Jainism. The first was called Śvetāmbara (putting on white garments) and the second was known as Digambara (having directions only as their garments = discarding all garments). A corollary to the main difference on the point of garment was whether women could be admitted to the order of Jain ascetics and whether they could win release from the cycle of phenomenal world. The Śvetāmbaras permitted women to become nuns and conceded them the right of attaining release; the Digambaras still refused women's admission to the ascetic order and maintained that women could not attain release until they are born as men as a reward of their good life. In Surāshtra the Śvetāmbara sect of Jainism was well organized. We know from the Jain work Prabhāvaka-charita[2] that Kālakāchārya and his sister Sarasvati both joined the order of Jain ascetics and were moving about in Surāshtra and Central India (Avanti). Broadly speaking, the Śvetāmbaras were generally found to the north of the Vindhyas and the Digambaras were found to the south of the Vindhyas, specially in the Canarese and Tamil districts.

As regards the religious practices of the Jains, the inscriptions found at Mathura and assigned to the first century B. C. reveal that they were worshipping images of their Tirthaṅkaras in temples and they had a developed ritual.[1] The Jains, like the Buddhists, built stupas and worshipped there; they had commemorative pillars also.[2] Though materials at our disposal are not adequate, the remains at Mathura clearly suggest that the cult of devotion was getting popular with the Jains and they were thinking of their Tirthaṅkaras with an intense emotional respect.

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[1] The Pattavali Samuchchaya, pp. 46, 166.

[2] Chapter IV.

6. Buddhism.

Of the two reformist religions Buddhism was more revolutionary, attractive and popular than Jainism. Under the patronage of Aśoka it had already spread over India and had also travelled beyond. In the time of Aśoka Ujjayini and Vidiśa both were good centres of Buddhism under the personal influence of the emperor. He personally lived at Ujjayini and his chief queen Devi resided at Vidiśa. According to the Buddhist traditions Devi was a devout follower of Buddhism and she lodged and entertained her son Mahendra, who was appointed as head of the Buddhist mission to Ceylone, in a specially built elegant monastery situated near Vedisagiri (Vidisā).[1] V. A. Smith[2] is of the opinion that this monastery was, most probably, built at Sanchi, where the remains of many stupas and Viharas are found still to-day. The revival of the Vedic religions under the Śungas gave a set back to Buddhism and the latter lost grounds at various places; yet it had a large following in the country. Epigraphical evidences belonging to the first century B. C. clearly indicate that Buddhism had flourishing centres at Bodhagaya, Sarnath, Bharhut, Sānchi etc. in northern India.[3] The cave inscriptions of western India, which belong to a later age, also show that Buddhism was professed in that part of the country also[4].

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[1] V, A. Smith, History of Fine Arts, pp. 82-84.

[2] Ibid

[1] The Dipavamsa, VII.

[2] Asoka (Second Edition), p. 215.

[3] Luders' List of Brahmi Ins. Ep. Ind. Vol, X.

[4] Ibid.

Buddhism developed by this time various schools of thought within it, though they did not lead to the formation of distinct sects. Of these schools of thought the following were noteworthy.

(1) Sthaviravāda (Phenomenalism). The followers of this school adhered to the original teachings of Lord Buddha and the Theras. They believed that all external things have only phenomenal existence and they are inferred. The Sthaviras were mostly found in northern India and Ceylone. The Sautrāntikas were simply a branch of the Sthaviravādins.

(2) Sarvāstivāda (Realism). The adherents to this school maintained that all things have in dependent existence and they are not a matter of inference. 'The Sarvāstivadin philosophy × × × is an atomic doctrine of matter combined with a theory of direct perception.' The followers of this school were found originally in Kashmir and from there they spread to other provinces of India and to the countries outside India.

(3) Mahāsāṅghika (Idealists). The followers of this school held the doctrine that the mind is real and the external things have no independent existence but they are mere ideas in mind. They started the process of transforming the human personality of Buddha into a superhuman personality and identified it with that of the former Buddhas. This school formed the basis of later Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. The Mahāvastu, a work belonging to this school, gives the following picture of the Buddha : "Buddha is a superman. He feels neither hunger nor thirst. He lives in ignorance of carnal desires. His wife remains a virgin. It is from consideration for humanity, in order to conform to the custom of the world, that he behaves as a man, or that he gives to men the false impression that he is behaving as a man. In technical terms, he is lokottara, superior to the world." The centres of this school were found in N. W. India and Central Asia.

The existence and concepts of Buddhism have found mention in the Sanskrit sources also. Amarasiṁha, a Buddhist himself, gives in his lexicon[1] the following names of Buddha:

1. Sarvajña.
2. Sūgata.
3. Buddha.
4. Dharmarāja.
5. Tathāgata.
6. Sāmantabhadra.
7. Bhagavān,
8. Mārajit.
9. Lokajit.
10. Jina.
11. Ṣadabhijña.
12. Daśabala.
13. Advayavādi.
14. Vināyaka.
15. Munindra.
16. Śrighana.
17. Śāstā.
18. Muni.

Seven more names of Buddha are added—(1) Śākyasiṁha (2) Sarvārthasiddha (3) Sauddhodani (4) Gautama (5) Arkabandhu (6) Māyādevisuta and (7) Sakyamuni.[2] Many of the names given above indicate the Mahāsāṅghika tendencies in Buddhism, investing Buddha with a superhuman personality. Amarasiṁha also refers to the Bodhidruma (Bow-tree) and Eḍūka (Stupa).[1a] Kālidāsa refers to the Buddhistic conception of Nirvāṇa in the following words: "He (Daśarath) who had enjoyed all pleasures of senses, who had reached the declining years of life with his absolution drawing near, was like a flame of lamp at dawn, which was about to be extinguished, with its oil consumed, and which has reached to the very end of wick."[1] Here we come across the lucid explanation of the concept of Nirvāṇa through the typical illustration of a lamp burning itself out. Somadeva, while praising the charity of Vikramāditya's father Mahendrāditya, refers to the atheistic faith of the Buddhists.[3]

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[1] The Amarakosha, I. 1. 13 14.

[1] The Amarakosha, I. 1. 14,15.

[1a] Ibid. II. 4. 10 ; II. 2.4,

[2] निर्विष्टविषयस्नेहः स दशान्तमुपेयिवान् ।
आसीदासन्ननिर्वाणः प्रदीपार्चिरिवोषसि ॥ Ragbu, XII, 1.

[3] The Kathasaritsagara, XVIII. 1, 50,

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Under the impact of theistic tendencies of the age Buddhism was also, like Brahmanism and Jainism, getting devotional and its worship centered round the personality of Buddha symbolized by the stupas decorated with beautiful sculptural pieces, specially in their railings and toraṇas, depicting various scenes from the life of Buddha and containing symbols, emblems and articles associated with his life. The most importaant stupas of this period are found at Bodhagaya, Bharhut, Sanchi and Amarāvati.[1] The Buddhist devotees walked round the stupas with reverent steps on the pradakshiṇāpatha (the path of circumambulation). No image of Buddha appeared as yet for the purposes of cult-worship. But all the scenes and symbols associated with the life of Buddha and carved on the railings and the toraṇas made the circumstances ready for it and the first image of Buddha was chiselled in the next century at Gandhāra, the centre of Indo-Greek art. Pilgrimage to the holy places became an important item in the religious activities of a pious Buddhist and charity and alms were extensively practised. The Buddhist monks realised the necessity of keeping abreast of the cultural tendencies of the day, so that they may be able to influence and win the people to their faith. This process represented a stage between the early Hīnayāna phase of Buddhism and the later Mahāyāna school of Buddhism which so closely approached the popular Brahmanical religion.

7. THE PERSONAL RELIGION OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

On account of his wide culture, universal generosity and catholicism in religion Vikramāditya is claimed by various religious sects as their follower. The author of the Bṛhatkathā-Mañjarī[2] depicts the circumstances, under which Vikramāditya was born, his parentage, his birth and his life all highly influenced by Śaivism : "Gods led by Indra approached Śiva sitting on the peak of Kailasa mountain and said,

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[1] V. A. Smith ; History of Fine Arts, pp. 65-81 ; 86,88.

[2] X. I. 8-13.

"O Lord, the demons, the children of Diti, who were destroyed by you in the past, are reborn again in the form of the Malechchhas × × ×. Lord Śiva, having listened to the pitiable words of the gods, instructed his gaṇa, Mālyavant to remove the burden of the earth × ×. Under the order of Śiva × × he re-incarnated himself as a son of the prosperous lord of Ujjayini, Mahendrāditya. The lord of Ujjayinī was already informed of this event in his dream." The Kathāsaritsāgara, in greater details, affirms the Śaivite faith of Vikramāditya; "There is in Avanti a famous city named Ujjayinī, the dwelling place of Śiva × × ×. There dwelt in that city a world-conquering king, named Mahendrāditya. × × ×. The king remained ruling his realm, propitiating Śiva, and ever bearing various vows in order to obtain a son. × × × In the mean time, as Śiva was with Pārvati on the mighty mountain Kailasa × × × all the gods with Indra at their head came to visit him being afflicted by the oppression of the Mlechchhas. × × × When Śiva had been entreated by gods, he said to them, 'Depart, you need not be anxious about this matter, be at your ease..........' when Śiva had said this he dismissed the gods to their abodes. × × × And when they had gone, the Holy one × × named Mālyavant, and gave him this order, 'My son, descend into the condition of a man, and be born in the city of Ujjayinī as the brave son of king Mahendrāditya.'"

The Brahmanical sources, at several other places, describe Vikramāditya as a devotee of Śiva and a patron of Śaivism.

The Jain sources, on the other hand, claim Vikramāditya as a convert to Jainism, though they concede that in his early career he was a follower of Śaivism. The story of his conversion is given below from the Vikrama-charita (Vikrama's Adventures, translated by Edgerton, H. O. S. Vol. 26, pp. 251-254):

"Now while king Vikramāditya was thus ruling his kingdom, there was once among the noble Vidyādhara-race a sūri [title of religious teachers and saints, especially Jains] called the reverend Vṛddhavādin. He was the pupil of the reverend teacher Skandila, and belonged to the family of the reverend sūri Pādalipta, who converted his majesty king Maruṇḍa, the emperor of the thirty-six hundred thousand people of Kānyakubja. One of his pupils, the reverend Siddhasena Divākara, famed under the name of Sarvajñaputra [Son of the Omniscient], was wandering about once over many lands, and came to the outskirts of Avantī. [5] .

And as the sūri Siddhasena came along, and the Sarvajñaputra panegyric was proclaimed before him, he was seen by his majesty Vikramāditya, who had gone out (from the city) on a royal pleasure-trip. To test him he made a mental obeisance (only) to the sūri. But the sūri raised his hand and spoke a benediction. The king said: "Why is a benediction given to us, when we rendered you no obeisance? Is this efficacious' when received ?" The sūri said. "This is given to one who made obeisance, and you did not fail to greet us. For the mind is always supreme, and to test our omniscience you greeted us mentally." Then the king, delighted, dismounted from the back of his elephant, and greeted him, and had a crore of gold brought to him. The teacher would not accept the gift through lack of avarice nor would the king take it back, because it had been once given. Therefore with the permission of the sūri it was applied by the men of the congregation to the repair of ruins [broken-down temples ?]. And in the king's record-book this entry was made :

I. "Upon the pronouncing of a benediction from a distance with outstretcht hands, the king gave a crore to the sūri Siddhasena."

Then the king went on to his amusements. But the sūri entered the city with great pomp. At this time the reverend congregation of Avantī said : "Lord, here in the temple of Mahākāla [Śiva] the Image of the Holy Jina has been taken down and a symbol [linga] of Śiva has been set up by the Brahmans, acting by authority of the king. So do you devise some plan."

× × × ×

Hearing these four stanzas the noble Vikrama arose from his throne and made obeisance to the reverend sūri Siddhasena, and said : "Lord, I give your reverence the rulership over the four quarters of the heaven." Then the reverend sūri said : "O king, what is rulership to us great seers, who know no difference between a blade of grass and a gem, between a clod of earth and a piece of gold ? This that I have undertaken to do was for the purpose of converting you to (the true) religion not of obtaining riches."

× × × ×

Hearing this the king was amazed at heart ; and he placed the sūri upon a throne at his own right hand, and then mounted himself upon his throne. Thus every day the time past is faultless conversation upon the Fourfold Knowledge [the knowledge of dhrama, religion ; artha, worldly success, wealth ; kāma, love ; and moksha, final salvation ; these are the four objects of human desire].

One time the king said. "Reverend sir, you must pay homage to the reverend Great Lord [Siva], the Lord of the Gods, who is revered by all the gods and demons, and who has his seat in the Mahākāla temple. Then the sūri said! "If I do homage to the god, his symbol [linga] will be cleft, and that will displease your majesty." Then the king said : "Never mind, perform the homage." Said he : "Then listen." Then placing himself in the lotus-seat position, he began to praise God with the thirty-two (Hymns of Praise), beginning thus :

II. "(I praise) the self existens the thousand-eyed one [the Indra, or cryptically king] of (all) Beings, the manifold, who yet bears the single mark of imperishable being ; the imperceptible, unimpeded. All world, who has neither beginning, middle, nor end, and knows neither good nor evil."

At the very first verse a column of smoke arose from the linga. Then the people spoke thus : "The revered Rudra [Śiva] is now going to reduce the monk to ashes with the fire of his third eye (for his blasphemy)." Then first a light came forth, like a flash of lightning ; and next the image of the reverend Pārśvanātha [the twenty-third Jin or saint-hero of the Jain cult] appeared. Then the king askt : 'Reverend sir, what miracle is this that we see ? Who is the, new god that has appeared ?" Then Siddhasena said : "In olden time there lived in this city of Avantī the son of the noble woman [Sreshṭhinī] Bhadrā named Avantīsukumāla [= Avantīkumāra ? see page 12, middle], who like Salibhadra [see Bloomfield. JAOS. 43. 257-316] enjoyed to the full the youthful embraces of thirty-two wives. Once when he heard the text of the Nalinīgulmavimāna [Lotus-Cluster-Car a Jin text] read by the lips of the noble sūrī Suhastin, he was awakened to a recollection of his previous existences, and entered the (Jain) order (of monks) by night. Because he had connexion in a cemetery with a she-jackal who had been his wife in a former birth, he died, and, attained the Lotus-Cluster-Car. His son had the Mahākāla temple built on the spot where his father died. And in time this was taken over by the Brāhmans, and a symbol of Siva was set up there ; but now the revered Pārśvanātha, pleased by my hymn of praise, has made his appearance." Hearing this the king in an edict gave a thousand villages to the god, took upon himself in complete and regular manner in the presence of his guru the twelve vows (of the Jain faith), and praised the reverend Siddhasena, his religious instructer."

The version of the Jainistic story is very late in time and is coloured with sectarian bias. The rising of the column of smoke and the breaking of the idol of Mahākaleśvara are mere myths indicating the wrath of the Jain writers against Śaivism which had replaced Jainism in Avanti. The fact that the Jain sages and scholars were highly welcome at Ujjayini during the regime of Vikramāditya and they may have considerable influence on his personal life appears to be true. It is a case not unique in Indian history. Ancient Indian rulers, as a rule, were considerate and liberal towards all creeds, which subscribed to some fundamental common elements of Indian culture. From all available evidences it seems clear that the ancestral and personal religion of Vikramāditya was Śaivism ; he was also under the influence of Jainism and patronized it ; and his generosity and charity were open to all religious sects, which cared to seek his patronage.

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CHAPTER XI.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

1. LANGUAGE.

Two forms of the same language have been current in India, as elsewhere, throughout its long history. The one form has been literary, cultivated and reformed, known by the name 'Sanskrit'. The other has been dialectical and popular, known by the names 'Prakrit' (Natural) and 'Apabhraṁśa' (Fallen or Broken). The second form of the language must have always been prevalent side by side with Sanskrit (Early Sanskrit or Vedic), but its use for literary or recording purposes has not been evidenced as yet before the 5th century B. C.[1] After the rise of Jainism and Buddhism; which arose as reformist religions, reacted against Vedic rituals and the cultivated Vedic language and tried to reach the masses, Prakrit or popular language received importance and came to be used as a vehicle of propaganda and popular literature. Under Aśoka and subsequent Mauryan kings Pali, the Prakrit of the age, received royal patronage and made good progress. Sanskrit was, however, never eclipsed or out of use. The majority of the sūtras were written during the period stretching from 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. The Arthaśāstra was written by Kauṭilya in Sanskrit under the patronage of the first Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.

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[1] The earliest known inscription in India is the Piprahwa Buddhist Vase Inscription which records the dedication of a relic-casket containing the remains of Lord Buddha and it can be assigned to the 5th century B. C. (J. R. A. S. 1898, pp. 387 ff).

Some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhāratā were also composed during the same period. At the end of the period Patañjali wrote his great Mahabhāshya on the Ashṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini. Thus it is quite clear that the people who believed in the Brahmanical religion and culture, and their number was always very large, continued to use Sanskrit as the medium of their expression. With the advent of the Śuṅgas the state patronage was shifted from Pali to Sanskrit again. Though Sanskrit had to compete with Prakrit for the next three centuries on account of the momentum the latter had gained and the preference shown to it by the foreigners, Sanskrit found a freer atmosphere for its further development and it became so polished and precise for expression that even the Jain and the Buddhist writers began to adopt it in preference to Prakrit. So the most current literary language in the first century B. C. was Sanskrit[1], though Prakrit was used for limited use. Amarasimha[2] called Saṁskrit by the following names :

(1) Brāhmī (derived from Brahma or Veda)
(2) Bhārati (used and perfected by the Bharatas, the most cultured people of ancient India or the most perfect medium of the culture of Bharata land.
(3) Bhāshā[3] (suitable expression).

He also refers to Prakrit by two names :

(1) Apabhraṁśa (fallen or broken) and
(2) Apaśabda (foul)

Both these names refer to the loose and irregular nature of the popular language which could be used for ordinary purposes of life but was not a fit medium for expressing subtle concepts in an exalt manner. Yet it was used by women and menials in Sanskrit dramas and it was still employed for recording dedications, issuing grants and proclamations.

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[1] काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य केन संस्कृतवादिन: । Sarasvatikanthabharana.

[2] The Amarakosha, I. 6. 1.

[3] Patanjali also calls Sanskrit as Bhasha.

2. VARIOUS BRANCHES OF LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

The various branches of literature which were cultivated during this period are enumerated in the Amarakosha[1] as follows :

(1) Veda, also known as Śruti. Āmnāya and Trayī.
(2) Vedāṅga. It included Śikshā (the science of correct pronunciation), Kalpa (Rules regarding Vedic Rituals), Nirukta (Etymology), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Chhandas (Prosody) and Jyotisha (Astronomy).
(3) Itihāsa or Purāvṛtta (History)
(4) Ānvikshaki (Philosophy)
(5) Daṇḍanīti (Politics)
(6) Tarkavidyā (Logic)
(7) Arthaśāstra (Economics)[2]
(8) Ākhyāyikā or Upalabdhārthā (Story or Fiction)
(9) Purāṇa (Eighteen in Number)
(10) Prabandha, Kalpanā or Kathā (Biography)
(11) Smṛti or Dharmasaṁhitā (Law and Customs).

From the subjects mentioned in the Amarakosha the following branches of learning and literature are also revealed :

(1) Theology and Mythology (Svargavarga)[3]
(2) Physical Geography (Vyomavarga) (phenomena in the sky), Digvarga (Directions), Kālavarga (Time) [4] ; Bhumivarga[5])
(3) Psychology (Dhīvarga[6] = mental phenomena).
(4) Dramaturgy (Nāṭyavarga),[7] Music and Theatre.
(5) Aquatics (Vārivarga)[8]
(6) Architecture (Puravarga)[9]
(7) Botany and Medicine (Vanaushadhivarga)[10]

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[1] I. 6. 1-6.

[2] In the Arthasastra of Kautilya the word used for 'Economics' is 'Varta'.

[3] I. 1.

[4] I. 2, 3 and 4.

[5] II. 1.

[6] I. 5.

[7] I. 7.

[8] I. 10.

[9] II. 2.

[10] II. 4.

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(8) Zoology (Siṁhādivarga)[1]

(9) Sociology (Manushyavarga)[2]

In the works of Kālidāsa almost all the branches of literature mentioned above are referred to. The poet very often refers to Śruti (Veda) and Smriti (Law and customs): "The lawful wife of the lord of men, who deserved to be ranked out the head of chaste women, followed her path, the dust on which was hallowed by the prints of her hoofs, as Smṛti follows the meaning of Śruti."[3] The Atharvaveda is specially mentioned for its effectiveness in averting calamities : "Then the lord of wealth...spoke in words replete with sense before that repository of the Atharvaveda—'As long as you are able to avert all my dangers, either human or superhuman, so long prosperity is sure to reign in all the seven departments of my state."[4] There are several references to astrology : "...whose exalted fortune was presaged by five auspicious stars that were in the ascendant apexes of their orbits and did not set.'[5] There is another mention of astronomy : "At the end of the conjunction, the moon departs from the sun,[6] as the world obtains consciousness from the hot-rayed sun."[7] Eclipse is also referred to in the following words "....like Rāhu obstructing the path of the moon."[8] Kālidāsa appreciates the science of medicine with its limitations : "....the medical treatment produces some effect when there is a residue of life."[9] References to positive sciences like metallurgy are not wanting and Kālidāsa mentions a rare mineral like red arsenic (Manaḥśila).[10] The leisured and aristocratic section of the society cultivated the science of erotics also : "That city endured the seige of love as a woman suffers the coveted saṁbhoga (sexual contact) of her lover."[11] "The lust of women when grown to excess does not take account of proper times for expressing their love."[12]

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[1] II. 5.
[2] II. 6.
[3] Raghu. II. 2.
[4] Ibid, I. 59-61.
[5] Ibid, III. 13
[6] Ibid, VII. 33
[7] Ibid; V, 4.
[8] Raghuvamsha, XII. 28,
[9] Ibid, VII.40
[10] Ibid. XII, 8.
[11] Ibid, XI. 52.
[12] Ibid. XII, 34.

"Husband and wife stranged by contrary behaviour consequent upon their love quarrel and are afterwards filled with remorse."[1] In various contexts of his works Kālidāsa reflects the intellectual achievements of his age.

3. VIKRAMĀDITYA'S PATRONAGE TO LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

The name 'Vikramāditya' is a symbol of patronage to literature and learning in Indian history. All traditions, written and oral, profusely speak of help and encouragement extended by Vikramāditya to litterateures, scholars and artists and of his honour conferred by him on the distinguished erudites of his age. During the reign of Vikramāditya there was an exuberance of literary and artistic activities. There is no wonder, then, that the distinguished poets and writers, artists and musicians, physicians and astronomers flocked to his court for patronage.

4. VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE NINE GEMS AT HIS COURT.

According to a tradition recorded in the book, Jyotirvidābharaṇa, there were nine distinguihed poets, writers and scholars at the court of Vikramāditya, who were collectively called 'Navaratna' (Nine Gems). The verse which enumerates them is given below :

धन्वंतरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशंकु वेतालभट्ट घटखर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥ XXII. 10.

(In the court of the king Vikramāditya there were nine gems—(1) Dhanavantari, (2) Kshapaṇaka, (3) Amarasiṁha, (4) Śaṁku, (5) Vetālabhaṭṭa, (6) Ghaṭakharpara, (7) Kālidāsa, (8) famous Varāhamihira and (9) Vararuchi.]

The Jyotirvidābharaṇa has been attributed to Kalidāsa, the friend of Vikramāditya, and the author of the Raghuvaṁśa etc. (XXII. 19-20) and the date of its composition is given as the month of Vaiśākha in the Kāli Era 3068 (=24 V.E.).[2]

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1. Ibid, XVI. 45.
2. वर्षैःसिन्धुरदर्शनांवरगुणैः याते कलौ सम्मिते ।
मासे माधवसंज्ञिते च विहितो ग्रंथक्रियोपक्रमः ॥ XXII 21.

The attribution of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa to Kālidasa has been questioned on the basis of the following internal evidences found in the work itself :[1]

(1) मत्वा वराहमिहिरादिमतैः
(2) शाकः शराम्भोधियुगौ (४४५) तितो हृतो
(3) मानं खतर्कैं (६०) रयनांशकाः स्मृताः ॥ I. 18.

In the above lines, according to those who challenge the attribution, there are references to (1) Varāhamihira who is supposed to have died in the Śaka Era 509,[2] (2) the Śaka Era supposed to have been founded in 78 A.D. and (3) the conjunction of the sun and the moon, which could take place in the Śaka Era 1164 (=1299 Vikrama Era). Hence they are of the opinion that Kālidāsa, who composed the Jyotirvidābharaṇa, cannot be a contemporary of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama Era in the first century B.C. ; they maintain that he was another Kālidāsa who flourished in the eleventh century A. D.. The critics of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa go a step further ; they discredit the tradition about the 'Nine Gems' given in that work. The critics, however, still have to identify the Śaka Era mentioned in the works of Varāhamihira and Āmaraja properly : The Śaka Era used by Varāhamihira and Āmaraja was most probably one which was founded in 550 B. C. and, therefore, Kālidāsa could have referred to the Śaka Era and Varāhamihira. But even supposing that the author of the Jyotirvidābharaṇā was a Kālidāsa different from one who flourished in the first century B.C., the fact cannot be controverted that in the eleventh century A. D. there was a wide-spread tradition in India that the court of Vikramāditya was adorned by Nine Gems. Unless it is independently and individually proved that the Nine Gems flourished in centuries other than the first century B. C. the traditions remain intact. The burden of disproving the tradition rests upon the critics.

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[1] Shamkara Balakrishna Dikshit, Ancient History of Indian Astronomy, p. 475 ff. [2] Vide supra p. 89.

The possibility of the association of the Nine Gems with Vikramāditya of the first century B.C. is briefly discussed in the following lines :

(1) Dhanvantari. It was not a proper name but an epithet which was given to a highly distinguished physician of his time. The first Dhanvantari, and perhaps it was his proper name, according to the Vishṇupurāṇa and the Harivaṁśa was a king of Kashi.[1] But he flourished long ago before one who was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. One Dhanvantari was the teacher of Suśruta, a junior contemporary of Charaka who belonged to the first century A. D.[2] He was most probably a distinguished physician of the first century B.C. and as such adorned the court of Vikramāditya and was awarded the title of Dhanvantari.

(2) Kshapaṇaka. This word was used in the sense of a Jain ascetic in ancient India. So, Kshapaṇaka is also not a proper name. The tradition recorded in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa only means that a famous Jain ascetic was associated with the court of Vikrāmaditya. In the Jain Nibandhas and the Vikramacharita it is stated that the great Jain saint and scholar Siddhasena-Divākara visited the court of Vikramāditya, gave a religious discourse and converted him from Śaivism to Jainism.[3] Thus according to the Jain tradition Siddhasena-Divākara was a contemporary of Vikramāditya and he can be identified with the Kshapaṇaka mentioned in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa. Pandit Sukhalalji and Pandit Khecharadāsa in their introduction to the Sammatitarka (p. 39), on the basis of some internal evidences, maintain that the identification of the Kshapaṇaka, a contemporary of Vikramāditya, with Siddhasena-Divākara is imaginary, because the latter flourished in the fifth century A. D.. But who can

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[1] G.N. Mukhopadhyaya: History of Indian Medicine, Vol. II. p. 310-11,

[2] Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, p. 62.

[3] The Prabhavaka-charita, the Prabandha-Chintamani, the Prabandhakosha, the Vividha-tirthakalpa, the Vikrama-charita etc.

guarantee that there was only one Siddhasena-Divākara in Indian history ? In view of the very wide Jain literary tradition it is not unsafe to identify one Siddhasena-Divākara with the Kshapaṇaka of the time of Vikramāditya.

(3) Amarasiṁha. He was another luminary at the court of Vikramāditya. He composed the famous lexicon Amarakosha. He, like Kālidāsa, has been dragged to the Gupta period (from the fourth to the sixth century A. D.. But there is nothing certain to prove that he really belonged to the Gupta period. The lowest limit of his age is the sixth century A.D., when the Amarakosha was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī. Jinendrabuddhi, who wrote his Nyāsa in 700 A. D., also respectfully refers to Amarasimha ; the earliast commentary on the Amarakosha was written by Kshīrasvāmī in the eleventh century A. D., who alludes to Bhoja, Rajaśekhara, Māgha etc. The uppermost limit of Amara-simha has been fixed in the fourth century A. D. by some scholars on the basis of the internal evidences found in the Amarakosha—(1) references to the Puranic gods and religious practices and (2) references to Mahāyānist features of Buddhism, e. g., the epithets of the Buddha, Bodhi-druma, Eduka (stupa) etc. It can be respectfully, pointed out that the Puranic gods are found in the Arthaśastra of the fourth century B. C. and the Mahāyānic features of Buddhism were already in exietence before they crystalized in the first century A. D.. The contents of the Amarakosha, therefore, do not militate against Amarasiṁha's association with Vikramāditya in the first century B.C..

Amarasiṁha was a Buddhist by his religious persuation, as it is clear from the opening verse[1] of the Amarakosha and the first position he assigns to the Buddha in the enumeration of gods in his svarga-varga.[2] He was a man of high scholarship and very wide sympathies and he wrote an excellent lexicon 'Nāmaliṅganuśāsana' which was afterwards known as the Amarakosha. In lexicography he started a new line which was utilized by the later writers.

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[1] यस्य ज्ञानदयासिन्धोरगाधस्यानघा गुणाः ।
सेव्यतामक्षयो धीराः स श्रिये चामृताय च ॥

[2] The Amarakosha, I. 1. 13.

(4) Śaṁku. He is the least known among the Nine Grems at the court of Vikramāditya. The author of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa mentions him once more as one of the courtiers of Vikrama :

> शंकुः सुवाग्वररुचिर्मणिरंगुदत्तो जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरिर्घटखर्पराख्यः ।
> अन्येऽपि सन्तिकवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वायस्यैवविक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥

> [These were the courtiers of the king Vikrama—Saṁku, Sweet-tongued Vararuchi, Maṇi, Aṅgudatta, Jishṇu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghaṭakharpara and other poets preceded by Amarasiṁha.]

There is a very late tradition, obviously a concoction, according to which Śabarasvāmi married four wives from four Varṇas ; from the Brāḥmaṇi wife was born Varāhamihira, from the Kshattriyā Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya, from the Vaiśyā Hariśchandra and Saṁku and from the Śudra Amarasiṁha. This tradition has no significance except that, perhaps, Saṁku was a Vaiśya courtier at the court of Vikrama and a class-mate of Vikrama under a common Brahman teacher.

(5) Vetālabhatta. He does not fare better than Śaṁku so far as his reputation is concerned except in the fabulous Vetala-Pañchaviṁśatika where he is credited with superhuman activities. The title Bhatta suggests that he was a learned Brahman. According to the written mediaeval traditions he was conquered by Vikrama at Rohiṇigiri and brought to Ujjayini and afterwards became a great friend and helper of Vikrama.

(6) Ghaṭakharpara. It is a peculiar name and appears to be rather a nickname than a proper name. He might have been a poet of repute and written a number of works. At present only two works are ascribed to him—(i) Ghaṭa-

kharpara-kāvya, which like the Meghaduta of Kālidāsa has for its theme the message of a separated wife carried to her husband by a cloud and (ii) Nitisāra. The first work has been commented upon by Abhinavagupta, Śantisūri, Govinda, Kamalakara, Tārāchandra etc.

(7) Kālidāsa. He was the brightest gem in the galaxy of the distinguished poets and writers who adorned the court of Vikramāditya. Indian tradition invariably associates him with Vikramāditya. The majority of even those scholars who drag him to the Gupta period, connect Kālidāsa with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. As regards his proper age and the possibility of his association with Vikramāditya of the first century B. C., the problem has been discussed in Chapter II of this work where the theories regarding the age of Vikramāditya have been examined and it need not be repeated again.

(8) Varāhamihira. He was the greatest astronomer of his age and therefore found a niche in the temple of learning at Ujjainī under the patronage of Vikramāditya. The problem of his age has been dealt with in Chapter II of this work and the possibility of his association with Vikramāditya also shown.

(9) Vararuchi. According to the Kathāsaritsāgara Vararuchi had another name Kātyāyana and he was born at Kauśambi in the family of a Brahman. From here he went to Pātaliputra and was educated there. He specialised in grammar. The Jain work Vividhatirthakalpa written by Jinaprabhasūri has recorded the tradition that under the instructions of Siddhasena-Divākara the Śāsana-paṭṭikā (the Principles of Administration) of Vikramāditya was written by Kātyāyana at Ujjayini on the first day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra in I V. E. It is also said that Jinaprabhasūri personally saw that Paṭṭikā. If Kātyāyana is the same as Vararuchi, the association of Vararuchi with Vikramāditya as recorded in the Joytirvidābharaṇa is evidenced by the Vividhatirthakalpa. Vararuchi himself

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states that he wrote his book Patrakaumudi, under the patronage and instructions of Vikramāditya.[1] He again refers to Vikramāditya in his Lingānuśasana and Vidyāsundara. A Jain tradition recorded in the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi says that Vararuchi was the tutor of the daughter of Vikramāditya, namely Priyangumañjarī.[2] According to the Sadukti-karṇāmṛta (page 297) Dhoyika alias Srutidhara received the same honour at the court of Lakshamaṇasena as Vararuchi, the Master of Learning, at the court of Vikramāditya.[3] Thus we have a large number of literary traditions which depict Vararuchi as a learned scholar residing at the court of Vikramāditya.

5. LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF THE AGE.

The century preceding the Christian era in India was important not only for political events of far-reaching consequences, but also for high class intellectual activities. Early Jainism and Buddhism were mainly concerned with ethical and philosophical problems and the discipline of austere life; they had a very narrow scope for pure literature. With the advent of the Śungas, however, there was the revival of a more balanced view of life under Brahmanical system and literature and aesthetics found their due place in the intellectual activities of the society. Hence a number of poets, dramatists and writers flourished in this century which followed the reign of the Sungas.

(1) Bhāsa. Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra[4] (Act I Prastāvanā) refers to Bhāsa, Saumillaka and Kaviputra as his predecessors or senior contemporaries in the field of

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1. विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य कीर्तिसिद्धेर्निदेशतः ।
श्रीमान् वररुचिर्धीमांस्तनोति पत्रकौमुदीम् ॥ Patra-Kaumudi.

2. Vikramarka-prabandha, 2.

3. ख्यातो यश्च श्रुतिधरतया विक्रमादित्य गोष्ठी विद्याभर्तुः खलु वररुचेराससाद-प्रतिष्ठाम् ।

4. प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लककविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं बहुमानः ।

dramatic literature. Nothing noteworthy is known about the last two, but Bhāsa was, certainly, one of the most distinguished dramatists in the Sanskrit literature. He flourished. according to K. P. Jayaswal, during the reign of Nārāyaṇa (49 B. C.), the third member of the Kāṇva dynasty.[1] Those scholars, who place Kālidāsa in the fourth or fifth century A. D., assign Bhāsa to the third century A. D.. But when once Kālidāsa is placed in the first century B. C., it becomes impossible to assign Bhāsa to the third century A.D.. The following plays are ascribed to Bhāsa :

(i) The Madhyamavyāyoga
(ii) The Dūtaghaṭotkacha
(iii) The Karṇabhāra
(iv) The Urubhanga
(v) The Pāñcharātra
(vi) The Dūtavākya
(vii) The Bālacharita
(viii) The Pratimā
(ix) The Abhisheka
(x) The Avimāraka
(xi) The Pratijña-Yaugandharāyaṇa
(xii) The Svapna-Vāsavadattā and
(xiii) The Chārudatta.

The ascription of the above-mentioned plays to Bhāsa has been questioned by some scholars on the grounds that none of the plays mentions Bhāsa as its author and Bhāsa's verses quoted by later writers are not found in them.[2] The omission of author's name, however, is not very uncommon in Indian literature and verses are very often conjecturedly ascribed to some well known writers. So the arguments based on omissions are not conclusive. T. Gaṇapati Śastri, Keith, Winternitzsch etc. have rightly ascribed the plays to Bhāsa on the basis of the unity of style, language, themes and technique.[1] Bhāsa was a dramatist of considerable skill. He mostly took his themes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, but the activity and the originality of his talent is proved by the variety of his selection. The dramas based on the Rāmāyaṇa were, perhaps, written first by Bhāsa and they do not reveal the best qualities of the dramatist. But in handling the dramas based on the Mahābhārata Bhāsa reveals his creative genius, originality, love for rapid action, suggestiveness, genuine humour and effective technique. The style of Bhāsa is simple and easy. He was a master of pithy and sententious expressions. So far as the ornamentations and illustrations are concerned he used simple figures of speech. In his plays Bhāsa shows his power of characterisation and depicting sentiments and emotions. It is difficult to surpass Bhāsa in the treatment of irony and humour.

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[1] J. A, S. B., 1913, p. 259.

[2] See Barnett, J. R. A. S. 1919, pp. 233 ff. ; Kanea, Vividhajnana vistara 1920 ; Levi. ZDMG. LXXII. 203-8.

It is interesting to note that Bhāsa in his plays Avimāraka, Chārudatta, Pratijnā-Yaugandharāyaṇa and Svapna-Vāsavadattā very fondly, like Kālidāsa, speaks of Ujjayini and gives graphic descriptions of its palaces, mansions, temples, gardens, lakes, pleasures, comforts and licenses which indicate a close contact of the dramatist with the city.

(2) Kālidāsa. He was the greatest creative genius of the age and the most favourite protigee of Vikramāditya. He wrote a large number of works of high merits. His authorship of some of the works is questioned. About thirty works are ascribed to him. The most important of them are as follows :

(i) The Mālavikāgnimitra
(ii) The Vikramorvaśi
(iii) The Abhijñana-Śākuntala
(iv) The Ritusaṁhāra
(v) The Meghadūta
(vi) The Kumāra-Saṁbhava

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[1] T. Ganapati Sastri, Bhasa's works a Critical study ; Pusalkar, Bhasa a study ; Keith, Sanskrit Drama.

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(vii) The Raghuvaṁśa

The first three are dramas, the next two are lyrics and the last two epics. Amongst the dramas the Mālavikagnimitra appears to be the earliest creation of Kālidāsa. In the prologue of the 'Mālavikāgnimitra Kālidāsa is very apologetic and he does not show the great merits of his later dramas. His next creation was the Vikramorvaśi which stands midway between the youthful Mālavikāgnimitra and the mature perfection of Śākuntala.' The Abhijñāna-Śākuntala was written last. This drama was the greatest and the most valuable creation of Kālidāsa and it represents his genius at its best. As a dramatist Kālidāsa occupies the highest place in Sanskrit literature. He had widest sympathies with human nature in diverse circumstances and he possessed a great insight into the working of human psychology. He was capable of depicting every shade of feelings, but he was superb in handling the emotions of love and pathos. In his treatment of nature Kālidāsa is always found at home with it. He betrays a deep love and an inner communion with nature. In the power of description Kālidāsa is unrivailed. The humour of Kālidāsa is always refined and he never tries to recreate his audience with cheap jokes. As regards the use of music and dance in the setting of his dramas he exhibits a great amount of technical knowledge. The style of Kālidāsa is easy and simple. He is finest example of Vaidarbhi style which was prevalent in Avanti. "The essentials of Vaidarbhi style are the absence of compounds or the rare use of them, and the harmony of sound as well as clearness, elevation and force allied to beauty.'

Kālidāsa was as a successful artist in his creation of lyrics and epics as a dramatist. The Ritusaṁhāra appears to be his first attempt in this direction. In it Kālidāsa is attracted by the external beauty of nature and the sensuous joy of man. His second creation was Meghadūta in which the poet is found at a much higher plane. It is a Khaṇḍa-kāvya, a love-idyle, which describes the love and pathos of a lover separated from his beloved and anxious to communicate his feelings to her. Nature plays a very important part in the Meghadūta also as a companion and consoler of man in his sorrows and depressions. The Kumāra-sambhava of Kālidāsa is a fullfledged epic, a great advance over the Meghadūta. Though its characters are divine, they are intensely human in the depth of their feelings, in their behaviour, in their success and their failures. The Kumāra-sambhava depicts the idealist and the single-minded love and devotion of Pāravati for Śiva, developing in their marriage and consummating in the birth of Kumāra or Kārtikeya. Amongst the epics the Raghuvaṁśa is the best creation of Kālidāsa's genius. The theme of the epic is the life-history of the kings belonging to the family of Raghu, one of the most important member of the dynasty founded by Ikshvāku. In depicting the life of the individual kings Kālidāsa shows his poetic merits of a very superior order. The events, the scenes, the characters and their sentiments and feelings are described with great skill and success. In the Raghuvaṁśa Kālidāsa exhibits his thorough knowledge of the social, the political and the religious institutions of the country and presents the ideal and the substance of Indian culture.

(3) The Redaction of the Great Epics. Though the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata existed as literary works much earlier than the age of Vikramāditya and they were re-composed in classical Sanskrit in the fifth or the fourth century B. C., some revisions and additions continued in the subsequent period extending up to the first century B. C.. The Rāmāyaṇa received almost its final shape under the Śungas. The Mahābhārata went on expanding and the some of the most inportant portions of the Mahābhārata were added to it. The portions of the Mahābhārata dealing with the distribution of land into racial area, the description of the world-conquest of the Paṇḍavas, the harassing of the country by the Yavanas and the Kambojas and the political chaos in the

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wake of it and the wielding of arms by all the Varṇas can be assigned to this period.

(4) Technical Works. A number of technical works were produced in the age of Vikramāditya, The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, the date of which is still hanging between 150 B. C. and 200 A. D., may be assigned to the period of Vikramāditya, an age of extensive dramatic activities. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsāyana on aesthetics and eurotics was another important product of this age. Amarasiṁha, one of the gems at the court of Vikramāditya, wrote his Nāmalingānuśāsanaṁ, popularly known as Amarakosha. The Amarakosha is the most popular and widely current dictionary in the Sanskrit literature. The mahābhāshya of Patañjali was written a century earlier under the Śuṅgas but the Sanskrit language of the time was governed by the Ashṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini and the Mahābhāshya. We cannot exactly assign any work on Dharmāśastra to the first century A. D., but the Manusmṛti seems to be the most prevalent one. About it Kālidāsa says, "The duties of a ruler, regarding the maintenance of the rules governing the Varṇas and the Āśramas, are ordained by Manu." The Gārgisaṁhitā, which describes the Yavana (Bāctrian-Yavāna) and Saka invasions as fresh events in Indian history, can also be placed in the first century B. C. Varāhamihira, the famous astronomer at the court of Vikramāditya wrote his Brihatsaṁhita and other important works on astronomy. Wide-spread references to medicine, chemistry, sculpture, architecture, painting etc. in literary works indicate that there must have been standard books on these subjects, the majority of which perished in course of time.

(5) Philosophical Literature. As enumerated in the Amarakosha, Ānvikshakī or Philosophy was one of the most important branches of learning and it must have been cultivated by the educated people of the period of Vikramāditya.[1] The Amarakosha[2] refers to some of the philosophical doctrines

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[1] आन्वीक्षकी दण्डनीतिस्तर्कविद्यार्थशास्त्रयोः । I. 6. 5.

[2] Ibid. I. 5. 6-8.

For the doctrine of the Emancipation of the soul the terms used by Amarsiṁha are—Mukti, Kaivalya, Nirvāṇa, Śreyas, Niḥśreyas Amṛta, Moksha and Apavarga. He also refers to Ajñana (Ignorance), Avidyā (Nescience) and Ahaṁkāra (Ego). The five tanmatras—Rupa, Śabda, Gandha, Rasa and Sparśa—and ten organs are further mentioned. The works of Kālidāsa refer to philosophical doctrines, generally of Vedanta, Sāṁkhya and Yoga. If one analyses the philosophical views of the Charaka-saṁhitā, one will find that its metaphysical concepts are based upon the Sāṁkhya system and for its logic it depends upon the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika. The Charaka saṁhitā was written in the beginning of the second century A. D.. Its philosophical concepts must have been current at least a century or so earlier. The dates of the Mīmāṁsā, the Vedānta, and the Yoga systems are still uncertain. They are, however, limited between the third century B. C. and the first century A. D.,

(6) Buddhist Literature.

In the first century B.C. the canonical Pali literature of the Buddhists was completing its compilation and codification and there was a definite tendency towards the production of non-canonical works among them. As regards the latest activities in compilation, the Sthaviravādins, whose literature was growing in volume, classified and compiled the seven books of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka,[1] as follows :

(i) The Dhamma-Saṁgini- It is a "Compendium of Dhammas" and deals with the classification and definition of Dhammas. In it ethics and psychology are not properly differentiated. Mrs. Rhys Davids regarded it as a 'Buddhist Mannual of Psychological Ethics.'

(ii) The Vibhaṅga. Literally it means "Classification"

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[1] According to the orthodox tradition of the Buddhists it is ascribed to the 3rd century B. C.. There is no doubt that the Dhamma-Pitaka is even earlier, but the Abhidhamma-Pitaka in its present form belongs to a much later date than the 3rd century B. C.

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and it is a continuatin of Book I. The early part of it deals with the fundamental conceptions and truths of Buddhism.

(iii) The Dhātukathā. It is a "Discourse on Elements" and contains questions and answers in the elements of psychical phenomena and their mutual relations.

(iv) The Puggala paññatti. It can be translated into English as "Description of Human Individuals." The book tries to classify individuals on the basis of their ethical qualities.

(v) The Kathāvatthu (Subjects of Discource). This book is very important for the study of the history of Buddhist religion. It is supposed to have been compiled by Tissa Moggaliputta at the Third Bvddhist Council during the reign of Aśoka, but it contains much later materials and in its present form it can be assigned to the first century B. C.

(vi) The Yamaka [the Book of the Double Questions] forms the sixth book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It is written in an enigmatic style and all questions presented here are answered in two ways. Without the help of a commentary it is very difficult to understand it.

(vii) The Paṭṭhāna-Pakaraṇa or 'the Book of the Causal Relationship' constitutes the seventh and the last book of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka. The book deals with the investigation of the twentyfour kinds of relationships which are supposed to exist between the corporeal and psychical phenomena.

Regarding the intrinsic and stylistic merits of the seven books of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka Mrs. Rhys Davids gives her opinion : "As we leave this house of cloistered lines, of a closed tradition, of a past dominating present and future, we have a sense of rooms swept and garnished clean and tidy, of sealed windows, of drawn blinds, of no outlook towards the dawn."[1]

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[1] J.R.AS. 1923, p. 250.

The transition from the canonical literature to the non-canonical literature was marked by a freedom of style, outlook and thought. In the times later than the period under consideratian the major portion of the non-canonical literature was produced in Ceylone. But in the period immediately following the age of the canons some notable non-canonical works were written in India, which deserve special reference.

One of the most important non-canonical works was the *Milind Panha*, "the Question of Milinda." Milinda mentioned here is no other than the Greek king Menander who ruled at Sānkala in the Punjab in the second century B. C.. The work must have been written within the vivid memory of the prosperous Greek rule in India but before its extinction in the first century A. D.. So the Milinda Pañha can very safely be assigned to the first century B. C.. Though the problems discussed in this work are almost the same as found in the canon, in its style it shows a definite advance on the Piṭakas and it contains vivid and sprightly dialogues, which can very favourably compare with the dialogues of Plato and Socrates. The work is written in the form of dialogues between Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena. It mainly deals with the Buddhist doctrine that there is no permanent ego, no substance of soul, but only a constant change of psychical and physical phenomena' and tries to reconcile it to the belief in a cycle of rebirths and the doctrine of *karman* according to which one has to suffer or to enjoy the fruits of one's own previous actions. To explain these doctrines a series of parables are introduced. The Milinda Pañha as a literary production is a masterpiece of ancient Indian prose.

The Major portion of the non-canonical literature consists of commentaries on ancient Pāli texts. The Theravadins were gradually being superseded by other Buddhist sects in India and the centre of the Theravāda finally shifted

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to Ceylone. In India the Sarvāstivadins and the Mahāsāṁghikas were multiplying their literatures, first in elegant Pāli and later on in mixed Sanskrit. The literary activities of these sects extended to all the 'three gems' of Buddhism—(1) Buddha (2) Saṁgha (monastic community) and (3) Dhamma (religion). This growing literature was finally shaped before the time of Kanishka and it prepared the ground for the rise of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.

(7) Jain Literature.

To give an idea of the currents of the Jain literature in the first century B. C. is very difficult, as the early Jain literature was mostly handed down orally and the collection and codification of the sacred Jain texts took place in the fifth or the sixth century A. D. according to the Jainistic tradition. Under the circumstances, it is almost impossible to assign particular works to the first century B. C.. But it seems that the Śvetāmbara Jains started the compilation of the early Jain texts as far back as in the third or the second century B. C., though these texts were not regarded authentic by the Digambaras, who maintain that all the Puvvas (Old Texts) were lost in the third century B. C., when the Jains had migrated from northern India to the south under the pressure of a long famine. It will be hazardous to say how much of the early Jain literature was rememberd by the Jain ascetics and how far the Śvetambaras were successful in reducing that literature to writing in the first century B. C.. According to the Jain tradition, however, some of the canonical works and commentaries on them are believed to have been written by authors like Ajja Sāma, Kālakācharya, Virabhadra etc. who flourished in the first century B. C.. The Jain Prabandhas make Siddhasena Divākara a contemporary of Vikramāditya, to whom are ascribed a number of works. He was a renowned logician and a famous lyrical poet. Bhadrabahu II, the teacher of Kundakunda, who wrote a number of learned works in Prakrit also flourished in the first century B. C. and died in 12 B. C.. Vimala Sūri, a great Prakrit poet wrote his Rama-epic Paumachariya in about the same period.

Like the Buddhists the early Jain writers wrote in Prakrit called Ārsha (the Language of the Rishis) or Ardha-Māgadh (half-Māgadhi) ; the later ones preferred mixed Sanskrit or Pure Sanskrit, though Prakrit as one of the mediums of expression continued. As regards the artistic merits of Jain works, Winternitz remarks : "With rare exceptions, the sacred books of the Jains are written in a dry-as-dust, matter of fact, diadactic tone, and as far as we know them hither to, are seldom instinct with that general human interest which so many Buddhist texts possess. Hence, important as they are for the specialist, they cannot claim the interest of the general reader to anything approaching so great an extent." The ascetic attitude of the Jains towards life was responsible for aesthetic barrenness of their early literature. But in some of the works, specially the Prakrit and Sanskrit Kāvyas, when they were emotionally aroused, they reached a high artistic standard.

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CHAPTER XII.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The age of Vikramāditya was as rich in artistic activities as it was in literary productions. The literary works of the time very frequently refer to various types of art. Fine arts as a whole are called 'lalita kalā' or 'lalita-vijñāna. In the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa Aja, bemoaning the death of Indumati, says that "she was his dear disciple in 'lalita-kalā-vidhi' (fine arts)."[1] Agnimitra, while praising Mālavikā, utters, "In endowing her, who is naturally beautifull, with lovely accomplishments (Vijñanena lalitena), by the creator is fashioned out an arrow of the God of Love besmeared with poison."[2] In the following pages different branches of fine arts will be dealt with briefly :

1. ARCHITECTURE.

Amarasiṁha under 'Puravarga' (Town-ships) in his lexicon[3] gives the following names for a town—(1) Pura (2) Purī (3) Nagarī (4) Pattana (5) Puṭabhedan (6) Sthāniya and (7) Nigama.

The suburb of a town or a town near the capital was called Śākhānagara (branch-town).[4] A town was generally surrounded by a rampart called Prākāra, Varaṇa and Sāla.[5] The streets in a town were known as Rathyā, Pratoli and Viśikhā[6], Markets were called Āpaṇa or Nishadyā.[7] The rows of shops (Vipaṇi or Paṇyavīthikā) were constructed in a town.[8] Every town had a number of dwelling houses known by various names—(1) Gṛha (2) Geha (3) Udavasita (4) Veśma (5) Sadma (6) Niketana (7) Niśanta (8) Pastya (9) Sadana (10) Bhavana (11) Āgāra (12) Mandira (13) Nikāya (14) Nilaya and (15) Ālaya, all indicating residence.[1] The inner part of a house was called Garbhāgāra.[2] Houses were provided with windows (Gavāksha[3].) The house of a prostitute was called Veśa or Veśyājana. A town specially a capital town, was provided with an assembly hall (śāla, sabhā, vāsa or kuṭi).[4] Houses meant for the painters and artists (Āveśana or Śilpiśala) had their independent establishments.[5] The houses of the wealthy persons were distinguished as Harmya[6] and those of kings as Prāsāda, Sandha or Rājasadana.[7] The royal or state houses were built in different styles and were known by the following names—(1) Svastika (2) Sarvatobhadra (3) Nandyāvarta and (4) Vichhandaka.[8] The female apartment was called—(1) Stryāgara (2) Antaḥpura (3) Avarodhana (4) Śuddhānta and (5) Avarodha.[9] The religious shrines were also magnificently built and they vere called Chaitya (Buddhist or Jain temples), Āyatana[10] (a temple for Brahmanical gods), Pratimāgṛha (idol-house) and Praśastāyatana (sacred temple).[11] Aristocratic houses had upper storeys called Aṭṭa and Kshauma.[12] We come across references to hundreds of turrets (talpa), terraces (aṭṭa) and ramparts (śāla).[13] The houses of the rich people were also provided with artificial lakes (gṛhadirghikā) and fountains (Yantra-pravāha or vāriyantra)[14]. Artistic theatres and music-halls were constructed.[15] Houses were decorated with gardens (gṛhārāma, upavana, ākrīḍa, udyāna).[16]

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[1] VIII. 67.
[2] The Malavikagnimitra. II. 13.
[3] The Amarakosha II. pp. 2, 1.
[4] Ibid. II. 2. 2
[5] Ibid. II. 23
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid II. 2. 2
[8] Ibid.

Apart from the towns villages were planted in rural

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[1] Ibid. II. 2 4-5
[2] Ibid. II. 2.
[3] Ibid. II. 2. 9
[4] Ibid. II 2 6.
[5] Ibid. II. 2 7.
[6] Ibid. II. 2. 9
[7] Ibid.
[8] The Amarakosha, II. 2. 10-11
[9] Ibid. II. 2. 11.
[10] Ibid. II. 2. 7
[11] Raghu XIV. 39; XVI. 39
[12] The Amarakosha, II. 2. 12
[13] Raghu. XIV. 29
[14] Raghu. VI. 49; Mala. II. 49
[15] Mal. I. 21
[16] Amara. II. 4. 1-2

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areas and they were called 'grāma' or 'Saṁvasatha'[1] The skirts of the villages were known as 'grāmānta' or 'upaśalya'.[2] Slightly removed from the villages were the establishments of the cow-heards-ghosha and abhirapalli.[3] The cottages of the sages and mendicants (Parṇaśāla or uṭaja) were situated in forests.[4] The settlements of wild tribes (pakvaṇa or śabarālaya)[5] were located in hilly or jungle areas distant from the villages and the towns.

The different types of architecture mentioned above have not, however, survived due to the destructive ravages of time and man. The Brahmanical Hindus built not only their secular buildings but also their shrines and religious establishtments in the thick of the cities, which were several times attacked and destroyed by foreign invaders—the Yavaṇas, the Śakas, the Hūṇas and the Turushkas. At present only the ruins and mounds at ancient sites of cities remind us of magnificent architecture which once stood there. The only architectural pieces which could escape the vandalism of foreign invaders and the ignorant and greedy exploiters of building materials were the Buddhist and the Jain sacred buildings, because they were mostly built in out of the way places removed from towns and the invaders would not care to go there.

The contemporary architectural monuments of the Buddhists, the remains of which have survived to-day, consisted of the stupas with their railings (vedika) and gateways (toraṇa) and of monasteries (vihāras) and churches (chaityas). The examples of such monuments are found at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amarāvati, which chronologically range from the time of the Śungas up to the first century A. D.. The stupas were solid structures oval in shape and built of bricks and stones. The purpose of constructing the stupas was to enshrine the remains of the Buddha or some Buddhist saint or to commemorate an event associated

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1. The Amarakosha, II. 2-20 2. Ibid. 3. ibid.
4. Ibid. II. 2. 7 5. Ibid. II. 2. 20.

with a spot and regarded sacred in the Buddhist or Jain legends. The structure of the early stupas was very simple and plain. It consisted of an oval mound enclosed by a stone railing, which marked off a procession-path. The railing was copied from wooden post and fences which protected the villages from wild animals. In course of time stupa architecture developed into an elegant piece of structure, complex and ornate. The oval-shaped stupa in the centre was artistically covered with stone-pieces sometimes carved, and surmounted by beautiful harmikā (a miniature palace for the sacred relics) with umbrella and chakra (sacred wheel, symbol of Buddhist religion). Every part of the railing was decorated with sculptures representing various scenes from the life of the Buddha. The gate-ways of the stupas were no longer mere openings. They were also developed into dignified structures. They were decorated with beautiful pieces of sculpture, depicting the life-story of the Buddha and the Buddhist symbols. The Buddhist monasteries and churches are generally found at Bhāja, Kondane, Pitalakhora, Ajintha, Bedsa, Nasik, Karle and Junnar etc. The Jain shrines and monasteries of this period are found at Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa. These cave architecoures evolved out of primitive and natural cave-shelteres in mountains but by the first century B. C. they reached such a high stage of development that they excite the wonder and admiration of the most modern architects and art-critics.[1]

2. SCULPTURE.

The art of sculpture was popular in the age of Vikramāditya. Images were known by various names. Amarasiṁha[2] calls them (1) Pratimāna (2) Pratibimba (3) Pratiyātanā (4) Pratichhāyā (5) Pratikṛti (6) Pratimā (7) Archā and (8) Pratinidhi. Kālidāsa also calls an image as Pratikṛti[3] or

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[1] See V. A. Smith : History of Fine Art In India And Ceylone, pp. 16 ff. A. Foucher : Buddhist Art.
Fergusson : History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I.

[2] The Amarakosha, II. 10-36 [3] Raghu XIV. 87

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Prātimā.[1] "....Rama did not marry a second wife after he had abandoned Sitā, and he performed sacrifices being accompanied by the image of herself."[2] As her substitute a golden image of Sita (Jāyāhiraṇyamayī) was prepared on the occasion of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Rama.[3] Pillars and posts were decorated with female images (stambheshu yoshitapratiyātanā).[4] From a large number of references to temples (Pratimāgṛha and Devāyatanas) it can be easily inferred that the images of gods were made and enshrined in them for worship. Kālidāsa refers to the worship of Śiva in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayini.[5] He does not make it clear whether the symbol of Śiva was iconic or aniconic. According to the Kathāsaritsāgara[6] Śiva was represented by an image, while the Jain Nibandhas make it a liṅga, which was broken by the magical power of Siddhasena Divākara. It seems that both iconic and aniconic representations of Śiva were current. The images of Vishṇu were also carved out, as it is evident from the Besnagar Garuḍa-Pillar, which was erected before a Vishṇu temple and belonged to the Śungaperiod.[7]

The specimens of sculpture belonging to this period have survived at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bhita, Sarnath, Mathura Nasik, Ajanta, Gudimalla, Udayagiri (Orissa) etc. The objects represented by them can be classified under the following heads :

(1) Scenes from the life of the Buddha—birth, great departure, enlightenment, turning the wheel of religion, great decease etc.
(2) Scenes from the Jātaka-stories.
(3) The images of Yaksha and Yakshiṇis
(4) The images of animals and birds.
(5) Floral decorations.

Technically these sculptural pieces are frontal and not in round and thus they suffer from the limitations of early

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[1] Ibid. XVI-39 [2] Ibid. XIV. 87 [3] Ibid. XV. 69
[4] Ibid XVI 17 [5] The Meghaduta, I. 34 [6] XVIII, 2
[7] V. A Smith ; A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone,

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attempts in this particular field of art. They almost look like paintings on stones. But whatsoever their limitations, they bear eloquent testimony to the excellence attained in the art of sculpture. The early pieces of sculpture follow the traditions of the Maurya and the Śuṅga periods. They are inspired by the principle of imitating and representing nature as it is; they were not trying as yet to depict some ideal sentiments or to symbolize some metaphysical entities; They deal with various aspects of human life—dance, sports and games, drinks, dress and ornaments etc—in their natural form. While commenting upon these sculptural pieces Fergusson says, "Some animals such as elephants, deer and monkeys are better represented than any sculpture known in any other part of the world; so too are some trees and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision that are very admirable. The human figures too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped to-gether combine to express the action intended with singular felicity."[1] The later specimens of sculpture show freedom from traditional limitations. The artists were advancing from wooden sculpture and adopting successfully to stone sculpture. Some of the scenes carved on the gate-ways of Sanchi are worth mentioning. One scene depicts 'the War for the Remains of the Buddha' waged by other claimants against the Mallas of Kuśinagara, who refused to give any share to them. In the left side of the scene we find the magnificent city of Kuśinagara with its palacial buildings surrounded by ramparts having guarded gates and watch-towers. Angry armies consisting of princes, soldiers, elephants, horses, chariots, martial music etc. are moving towards the gate of the city. The artist exhibits a wonderful command over the technique of depicting an army or crowed first violent and later pacified through mediation. Another scene is that of the conquest of Māra (cupid)'. Here Gautama is shown firmly sitting

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[1] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 36.

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under the Bodhi-tree at Gaya ; the defeated army of Māra is in a miserable plight and the gods and other celestial beings are rejoicing and saluting the Buddha. In this scene there is a rare combination of calm and terror. Similarly other scenes are also lively and suggestive.

3. PAINTING.

The art of painting, an art allied to sculpture but using a more refined medium, was also cultivated. On account of perishable materials employed in painting no specimen, except a few on the walls of Ajantā caves, have survived to the present time. But literary sources are full of references to the art of painting. Only some of them can be quoted here. In the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala we come across the lines referring to the effects of music on audience : "Well sung, madam. The entire audience in the theatre, the flow of whose mind is controlled by the sentiment created by music, looks like a painting."[1] Another reference runs thus : "....the king passed eight years with great difficulty, sometimes of course looking at the exact picture (Sādṛśya-pratikṛti) of his beloved and at others enjoying the pleasure of her company in dreams."[2] References to painted elephants (chitra-dvipāḥ)[3] and pictured drawing-rooms[4] are also found. Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra refers to a painting-hall (Chitraśālā).[5] The picture of the heroine in the same drama plays an important part in its development. Agnimitra, the hero, commenting upon the picture of his beloved says, "The mind was suspecting the want of faithful reproduction of her beauty drawn in the picture, but now I consider him, by whom she was drawn in the picture, to be lacking in perfect concentration."[6] The Kathā-saritsāgara recording a tradition about Vikramāditya's patronage to painting states, "Now this king, being such as I have described, had a painter named

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[1] आर्ये साधुगीतम् । अहोरागनिविष्टचित्तवृत्तिरालिखित इव सर्वतोरङ्गः । I. 4. ff.

[2] Raghu- VIII, 12-

[3] Ibid XVI. 16

[4] Ibid, XIV, 25

[5] Act I

[6] Mal- II, 2 ff.

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Nagarasyāmin, who...surpassed Viśvakarman. That painter used every two or three days to portrait a picture of a girl and give it as a present to the king, taking care to exemplify different types of beauty."[1] The same work further contains, "If the king remembers it all exactly, let him draw that city on a piece of canvas in order that some expedient may be discovered in this matter."[2] The sculptural pieces at Sanchi and Bharhut, bearing close resemblance with pictures clearly indicate the existence of the pictorial art in the first century B. C.

The only extant specimens of painting belonging to this age, as pointed out above, are found in the caves at Ajantā. Paintings in the caves no. 9 and 10 have close affinities with sculptural pieces at Sanchi in the choice of their themes and the technique of depicting them in an effective manner. They are characterized by energy, movement and serenity. The painters knew the art of combining different colours for producing different effects. The figures painted at Ajantā are life-like and expressive.

4. MUSIC.

There is a brief information about the technical aspect of music in the Amarakosha.[3] It enumerates the seven tunes (svaras) —(1) Nishāda (2) Rishabha (3) Gandhāra (4) Shaḍja (5) Madhyama (6) Dhaivata and (7) Pañchama.[4] As explained in the Nāṭyaśāstra the classification of tunes under seven heads was based upon the principle of producing sound from different parts of the vocal cord of the human body. The tunes according to their sweetness, depth and height were further called kala (sweet), mandra (deep), and tāra (high).[5] The musical instruments mentioned in the Amarakosha[6] are classified under four heads :

(1) Tata (stringed) as lyre called Viṇā, Vallaki, Vipañchī or Parivādinī,

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[1] XVIII, 2 [2] Ibid, XVIII. 2 [3] I. 7,

[4] The Amarakosha, I, 7, 1, [5] Ibid, I. 7. [6] I. 7. 3-4.

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(2) Ānaddha (instruments from which sound is produced by beating) as Mṛidaṅga or Muraja (a kind of tabour),[1]

(3) Sushira (instruments from which sound is produced by blowing as Vaṁśa (flute)[2] and

(4) Ghana (instruments from which sound is produced by striking against them) as those made of metals like bronz.

Some other instruments are mentioned separately also, as,

(1) Yaśaḥpatala or dhakkā (a large double drum)
(2) Bheri or Dundubhi (kettle drum)
(3) Ānaka or Pataha (a large military drum)
(4) Damaru (a miniature drum shaped like an hour-glass)
(5) Maddu
(6) Diṇḍima (a kind of small drum)
(7) Jharjhara (a sort of drum)

From the works of Kālidāsa we find a few more names of musical instruments like Tūrya[3] (trumpet), Śaṁkha (conch-shell),[4] Ghaṇṭā (bell)[5] and Jalaja[6] etc.

There were music-halls (Saṁgīta-śālā) in aristocratic houses for training women in the art of music.[7] Music was regarded auspicious and on all festive occasions like birth, marriage etc. arrangements were made for it. Songs were sung according to seasons.[8] Music was regarded as one of the personal achievements in aristocratic circles[9] and it was also followed as a vocation by professional singers and courtesans.[10]

5. DANCING.

The art of dancing was allied to music and it also received treatment in the Amarakosha.[11] Three types of dancing are mentioned :[12]

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[1] It is also called Pushkara in Raghu. XIX. 14.

[2] Kalidasa cails it venu (Raghu. XIX. 35)

[3] Raghu. III. 19

[4] Ibid. VI. 9

[5] Ibid. VII. 41

[6] Ibid VII. 63

[7] Mal. I.

[8] ऋतुमधिकृत्य गास्यामि । Shak. I. 14.

[9] Raghu. XIX.

[10] Ibid, III. 19

[11] 1, 7, 9

[12] Ibid,

(1) Tattva or Vilambita (slow dancing),
(2) Ogha or Druta (swift dancing) and
(3) Ghana or madhya (dancing with medium speed)

The measurement of time in dancing was called Tāla, and the hormony of song, musical instrument and the movement of the body was called 'Laya' (complete merging).[1] Dancing was further known by the following names having different significance :[2]

(1) Tāṇḍava
(2) Naṭana
(3) Nāṭya
(4) Lāsya
(5) Nṛtya
(6) Nartana.

The poet Kālidāsa[3] appears to be very fond of dancing and he introduces a number of scenes of dance in his dramas and epics. In his Mālavikāgnimitra he has devoted almost a full scene to dancing and music.[4] Therein Parivrājikā appreciating the dance of Mālavikā remarks, "By her limbs, which had the words deposited with them (that is, which were eloquent with expressions) was indicated properly the meaning ; the movement of the feet followed the musical tune ; there was complete absorption in the sentiments ; the acting arising from the branch-like hands was gentle ; in the successive development of acting one sentiment replaced another from its resort, still there remained the same arresting interest."[3] In the same drama we find references to four types of dancing—(1) Chhalita (based on a song of four parts) (2) Khuraka (toeing) (3) Abhinaya (staging) and (4) Śarmishṭa (calm).[5] Dance, like music, was also learnt under the instructions of efficient teachers in a music-hall.[6] There were professional teachers in the employment of aristocratic families. Some times Parivrājikās (female ascetics) also worked as tutors in dancing and music.[7]

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[1] Ibid, [2] Ibid, [3] Act. II.

[4] अङ्गैरन्तरनिहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः पादन्यासो लयमनुगतस्तन्मयत्वैरसेषु। शाखायोनिमृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥—II. 8.

[5] Act I. [6] Ibid [7] Ibid.

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Dancing was regarded as a respectable art and it was practised by educated and cultured people. But there were professional dancing girls also, who were called Nartaki or Lāsikā[1].

6. THEATRE.

The existence of numerous dramas written by Bhāsa, Saumillaka, Kaviputra and Kālidāsa clearly indicate that the art of staging was popular in India during the age of Vikramāditya. That these dramas were not mere literary pieces to be read but they were staged is stated by Kālidāsa in his prologue to the Mālavikāgnimitra.[2] His own dramas were all staged.[3] The act of staging was called Prayoga or Upasthāpana (application or presentation).[4] The dramas were generally staged either to celebrate seasonal festivals[5] or to recreate learned audience so that the play might receive the approval of the cultured critics.[6] The Sūtradhāra (stage-manager) while introducing the Abhijñana-Śākuntala says,

> "No skill in acting can I deem complete,
> Till from the wise the actors gain applause ;
> Know that the heart even of the highly skilful,
> Shrinks from too boastful confidence in self."[7]

Because the majority of the dramas were first staged at the courts of rulers, some scholars are of the opinion that "this art was essentially aristocratic ; the drama was never popular in the sense in which the Greek drama possessed that quality." There is no doubt that the art of staging required cultivated taste, technical knowledge and economic resources.[8] But it should be observed that the first performance of a drama at the court of a patron did not remove the possibility of its subsequent staging at other places less important than the court. The place, where drama was performed, was called Prekshāgṛha (Scene-House) ;[1] the stage-manager Sūtradāra and the actors Pātra.[2] There was a green-room (Nepathya)[3] in the theatre and curtain (Tirashkariṇi[4] or Paṭa[5]) was used for dividing various scenes in a drama.

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[1] The Amarakosha, I. 7. 8-9 [2] Act. I.

[3] कालिदास ग्रथितवस्तुनाऽभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलनामधेयेन नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः । Abhijnana-Shakuntala, I.

कालिदासग्रथितवस्तु मालविकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटकमस्मिन्वसन्तोत्सवे प्रयोक्तव्यमिति । Malavikagnimitra. I ; Vikramorvashi, I.

[4] See foot-note no. 2. [5] वसंतोत्सवे । Mal I.

[6] Sak. I. [7] Ibid. [8] A. B. keith ; Sanskrit Drama, p. 276.

The Amarakosha contains some interesting details regarding drama. According to it a drama was invariably accompanied with nṛtya (dance), gīta (song) and vādya (instrumental music).[6] Though female actresses took part in staging a drama, the majority of actors were male ones who played the part of female characters also by putting on female dress. Those who played the part of female characters were called Bhrakuṁsa, or Bhrūkuṁsa. A Gaṇikā or a courtesan who took part in drama was known as Ajjukā, which shows that some of the courtesans were professional actresses. The main purpose of staging was thought to be the expression of various permanent sentiments—Śṛngāra (Erotics), Vīra (Heroic), Karuṇa (Pathos),[7] Adbhut (wonder) Hāsya (Humour), Bhayānaka (Fear), Bibhatsa (Disgust) and Raudra (Terror)[7] and other accessory emotions.

7. THE BACK-GROUND OF LITERARY AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES.

The exuberance of literary and artistic activities and a new life and vigour in them in the first century B. C. were due to the fact that after the defeat of the Śakas in 57 B. C. by Vikramāditya, the country as a whole, except the extreme North-West, enjoyed freedom from foreign domination for the next one hundred and thirty-five years (up to 78 A. D., when the Śakas renewed their invasions), an era of peace and prosperity (Kṛtayuga) prevailed and it found a rare opportunity of self-expression. The same phenomenon has been repeated in Indian history several times. During the Mauryan period after the defeat of the Greeks and during

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1. Mal. I· 2· Sak· I, 3, Mal, II, 1, 4, Mal, II,
5, Sak, 6. I, 7, 10, 7. Amarakosha 1, 7, 17

the Gupta period after the second defeat of the Śakas and the extinction of the Kushaṇa power the genius of India expressed itsself with new inspiration and vitality in various fields of literature and art. Some scholars have sought to explain the art of this period by suggesting that the existence of the Indo-Bactrians in the Punjab influenced the realistic sculptures at Sanchi and Bharhut. Even conceding that the Indians borrowed some decorative motifs from the Indo-Bactrians (uprooted from their own soil and decadent in India), the entire conception and execution of art of this period was Indian and its realism and gaity was born of material happiness and intellectual poise which prevailed in the first century B. C..

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CHAPTER XIII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATIONS OF AVANTI (WESTERN MALWA).

Avanti (Western Malwa) which was under the direct rule of Vikramāditya, is one of the most fertile tracts of land in India, which attracted people from the different parts of the country for colonization, cultivation and industry. The main routes linking Uttarāpatha (Northern India) and Dakshiṇāpatha (the Deccan) passed through Avanti and afforded great facilities for the development of trade and commerce. Climatic conditions in Avanti are also suitable for hard and long labour. Under the geographical conditions Avanti was economically advanced very early in the history of India. The branches of the early Aikshvākus (Solar-Race people of Ayodhya) and the Yādavas had their prosperous colonies here. Under the Pradyotas, the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas Avanti was one of the richest parts of India.

2. THE FIRST ŚAKA INVASION AND ITS ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES.

The first Śaka invasion of Avanti, which took place in c. 70 B. C. badly affected the economic life of the land. The barbarian Śakas devastated the country they marched through. They burnt villages, destroyed crops, killed men and thus paralysed the normal life of the people.[1] They were a destructive force and they had no power of organizing an economic structure. Even after they occupied Avanti and settled down to rule, their attempt was simply to exploit the country and fill up their treasury without protecting and developing the economic resources of the people. The exact-

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[1] क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन यथैषामाश्रितः जनाः । The Yugapurana, l. 52

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ing policy of the Śakas is complained against in the Yugapurāṇa in the following words: "Then there will be the king of the Śakas, who would be very powerful but very greedy of wealth."[1] The result of the economic policy of the Śakas was that the people became empoverished and heavily endebted.

3. ECONOMIC RESTORATION BY VIKRAMĀDITYA.

Traditions are unanimous on the point that the first thing that Vikramāditya did after the expulsion of the Śakas was the economic restoration of the land. One tradition says, "By the might of his sword he enjoyed the earth. How can his heroism be praised adequately ? He had magnanimity like that of Yudhishṭhira. His power was established everywhere. He made the whole earth free from distress, and banished misery and poverty."[2] Another tradition adds, "Thus reflecting in his heart the noble king Vikrama paid the debts of the whole earth by an enormous largess, sufficient to fulfil to the extent of their desires the pettitions of the multitude of beggars ; and in doing so, he introduced a turning point in the era of Vardhamāna (the founder of Jainism)."[3] The Kālakācharya-kathā in the Prabhāvaka-charita also pointedly refers to the act of Vikramāditya in freeing the earth from poverty and debt. All these traditions indicate how Vikramāditya was anxious for the economic restoration of his people, who were looted and exploited by Śaka invaders. The foundation of the Kṛta Era by him symbolized the inauguration of 'the Golden Age' not only politically but also economically, and the country being free from foreign domination and exploitation enjoyed peace and prosperity, which are reflected in the contemporary literature.

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1. शकानां च ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः । The Yugapurana, l. 53.
2. खड्गबलेन पृथ्वी भुक्ता । शौर्यं किं वर्ण्यते ? औदार्य युधिष्ठिरस्यैव । शकः सवत्र कृतः । सर्वा पृथिव्यनार्ता कृता । दैन्य दारिद्र्योर्देशान्तरं दत्तम् । The Vikrama-Charita, 32 (Brief Recension, Edgerton ; Vikrama's Adventures, Vol. XXVII, p, 222)
3. ....पृथ्वीमनृणां कृत्वा वर्धमानसंवत्सरपरावर्तमकरोत् । Ibid. 16 (Jain Recension; Edgerton. Vikrama's Adventures, vol. XXVI, LIU.)

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4. DIFFERENT TYPES OF LAND.

Land the primary basis of economic life, was divided into different types during the age of Vikramāditya. In the Amarakośa[1] the following types are mentioned :

(1) Urvarā (fertile)
(2) Ūshara (barren)
(3) Maru or Dhanvan (desert)
(4) Khila or Aprahata (fallow)
(5) Sādvala (grassy land)
(6) Paṅkila (miry land)
(7) Anūpa or Jalaprāya (terrāi land)
(8) Kachchha (land on the banks of a river)
(9) Śārkara (land full of pebbles and pieces of limestone)
(10) Saikata (sandy)
(11) Parisara (land near a mountain)
(12) Aṭavī (forest)[2]

5. AGRICULTURE.

The main type of land (which must have been extensive) under cultivation was Urvarā (fertile). It is defined as a type of land capable of producing all sorts of crops.[3] On the basis of irrigational facilities land was further divided into two classes—(1) Nadīmātṛka (land irrigated by rivers) and (2) Devamātṛka (land irrigated by rains).[4] The second class included land irrigated by artificial lakes (formed by constructing bunds) which were in abundance in Avanti. The government helped in the construction of artificial lakes, as the agricultural prosperity of the people depended upon them. The agriculturist was known as Kshetrājiva (living upon fields) (2) Karshaka (one who tills) (3) Kṛshaka (one who cultivates) or (4) Kṛshivala (possessing farms).[5] Agricultural fields were called as (1) Vapra (2) Kedāra and (3) Kshetra. Fields were classified on the basis of cereals sown in them :

(1) Vraiheya (the field in which rice was sown)[6]

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[1] II. 1. 3-13.
[2] Ibid. II. 4 1.
[3] उर्वरा सर्वसस्याढ्या । Ibid. II. 1. 3.
[4] The Amarakosha, II- 1- 12.
[5] Ibid- II- 9 6,
[6] Ibid,

(2) Śāleya (the field in which Śali rice was sown)[1]
(3) Yavya, Yavakya or Ṣashthikya (the field in which barley was sown)[2]
(4) Tilya or Tailīna (the field in which sesamum was sown)[3]
(5) Māshya or Mashiṇa (the field in which urad was sown)[4]
(6) Umya (the field in which Umā or linseed was sown)[5]
(7) Maudgina (the field in which munga was sown)[6]
(8) Kodraviṇa (the field which produced millets)[7]
(9) Godhūmina (the field which produced wheat)[8]
(10) Chāṇakina (the field which produced gram)[9]
(11) Sākaśākin (the field which produced vegetables)[10]

The traditional process of cultivation was prevalent. Ploughed field was called Sītya, Kṛshṭa or halya, all indicating the process of ploughing.[11] Fields were ploughed once, twice or, at the most, thrice.[12] This shows the highly fertile nature of the land under cultivation. Plough was called (1) lāṅgala (2) hala (3) godāraṇa and (4) Sīra[13]; plough-share was known as phala or phāla[14] ; furrows as sitā or lāṅgala-paddhati.[15] Plough was obviously driven by oxen which were managed with the help of sticks (prājana, todana or totra)[16] The following cereals are mentioned as being cultivated:[17]

(1) Āśu, vrīhi or pātala (rice)
(2) Yava or Śitaśūka (barley)
(3) Tokma (green barley)
(4) Kalāya, satinika, hareṇu or reṇuka (beans or matar)
(5) Kodusha or Kodrava (millets)
(6) Maṇgalyaka or masūra (masur)
(7) Mudga (mung)
(8) Sarshapa, tantubha or Kadambaka (mustard)
(9) Siddhartha (white mustard)

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1. Ibid. 2. Ibid, II- 9- 7 ; Sashthika was a kind of barley which ripened in 60 days only. This indicates the knowledge of processing the speedy growth of plants and crops, 3. Ibid,
4. Ibid, 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid, II, 9. 8, 7. Ibid, 8. Ibid
9. Ibid 10. It is not found in all the editions of the Amorakosha,
11. The Amarakosha II 9 8 12. Ibid II 9 8-9 13. Ibid II 9 14
14. Ibid II 13 15. Ibid II 9 15 16. Ibid II 9 12 17. Ibid II 9 15-20

(10) Godhuma or sumana (wheat)
(11) Yāraka or kulmāsha (kulthi)
(12) Chaṇaka or harimanthaka (gram)
(13) Tila (sesamum)
(14) Kshava, rajika, kshutabhijanana, kṛshnika or āsuri (very pungeant and small mustard seeds known as rāyee)
(15) Atasi, umā or kshumā (linseed)
(16) Āḍhaki, kakshi etc. (arhar).[1]

Agriculture included the cultivation of different varieties of vegetables also, which were collectively called Śaka, Haritaka or Śigru.[2] A short list of vegetables is given below:[3]

(1) Kāravella, Kaṭhillaka or Sushavī (Karaila in Hindi)
(2) Paṭola, Kulaka or Paṭu (a species of cucumber)
(3) Kushmaṇḍa or Karkāru (pumpkin)
(4) Karkaṭi or Urvaru (cucumber)
(5) Ikshvāku or Kaṭu-tumbi (a sort of gourd)
(6) Tumbi or Alābu (gourd)
(7) Chitra or Gavākshī (Cucumis coloquintida)
(8) Suraṇa, Arśoghna or Kanda
(9) Gaṇḍīra
(10) Kālambi
(11) Upodikā
(12) Mūlaka
(13) Hilamochika
(14) Vāstuka
(15) Bhaṇṭāki, Vartāki, Simhī or Hiṅguli (Egg-fruit)
(16) Ghshaka or Dhāmārgava
(17) Mahājālī
(18) Jyautsnī, Paṭoliha or Jālī
(19) Gojihvā or Darvikā
(20) Kunda or Kundaru .
(21) Tāṇḍuliya or Alpamārisha
(22) Ambaloṇikā
(23) Plaṇḍu or Sukandaka

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[1] Ibid II 4 131. [2] The Amarakosha. II. 9. 33. [3] Ibid II. 4 1 14-148.

6. Horticulture, Flower-gardening and Planting of trees.

The cultivation of fruits and flowers was also a favourite occupation. Gardens in general were called Ārāma or Upavana.[1] Different types of gardens are mentioned by Amarasiṁha :[2]

(1) Gṛhārāma or Nishkuṭa (garden near a house)
(2) Vṛkshavāṭikā (a garden of a minister or a prostitute)
(3) Ākrīḍa or Udyāna (a royal garden)
(4) Pramada-vana(a garden in the inner apartment of aking)

Gardens were planned and properly laid out. Trees and flowers were planted in rows called Vīthi, Āli, Avali, Paṁkti or Sreṇī.[3] Trees and plants were divided into two groups—(1) Vanaspati (those which bear fruits after blossoming) and (2) Oshadhī (those which die out after bearing fruits).[4] A large number of trees and flowers are enumerated by Amarasiṁha :[5]

(a) *Trees.*

(1) Bodhi-druma, Chaladala, Pippala or or Aśvattha (ficus religiosa)
(2) Kapittha (wood-apple)
(3) Udumbara (fig-tree)
(4) Kovidāra (bauhimia variegata)
(5) Sapta-parṇa (alstonia scholaris)
(6) Sampaka or Kṛtamāla
(7) Jambhira (lemon)
(8) Varuṇa (crataeva roxburghii)
(9) Kesara (saffron)
(10) Nimba-taru (azadirachta Indica)
(11) Tiniśa (dalbergia Ujjeinensis)
(12) Āmrātaka
(13) Madhūka
(14) Pīlu
(15) Akshoṭa

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[1] The Amarakosha, II. 2. 2. [2] Ibid. II. 4. 1-3:
[3] Idid II. 4.4. [4] Ibid. II. 4. 9 [5] Ibid. II. 4.

(16) Sobhañjana
(17) Vilva or Śriphala
(18) Plaksha
(19) Nyagrodha or Vaṭa (banyan)
(20) Āmra, chūta or Rasāla (mango)
(21) Sahakāra (fragrant mango)
(22) Śelu or Sleshmāntaka
(23) Badari, Karkandhu or Kolī
(24) Airāvata or Nagaraṅga (orange)
(25) Tūla or Nuda[1]
(26) Kadamba or Haripriya
(27) Chiñchā or Amlikā
(28) Kshīrikā
(29) Āmalaka, Amṛta
(30) Lakucha or Dahu
(31) Panasa or Kaṇṭaki-phala etc.
(32) Dāḍima
(33) Drākshā
(34) Kadali or Rambhā

(b) *Flowers.*[2]

(1) Sirīsha
(2) Champaka
(3) Bakula or Kesara
(4) Nāgakesara
(5) Mallikā
(6) Sephālika
(7) Gaṇikā or Jūthikā
(8) Mādhavi or Vāsantī
(9) Mālatī or Jāti
(10) Saptala or Nava-mallikā
(11) Kunda
(12) Raktaka or Bandhuka
(13) Sahā or Kumārī
(14) Odrapushpa or Javāpushpa

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[1] Amarakosha, II. 4. 41 ff. [2] Ibid. II, 4. 63 ff.

(15) Pratihāsa or Karvīra
(16) Karira
(17) Maruvaka
(18) Mandāra
(19) Pārijāta
(20) Hara-Śṛṅgāra
(21) Maulaśrī

7. FOREST.

Forest was a rich source of the economic prosperity of the country. It yielded the following :[1]

(1) Timber
(2) Wood and fuel
(3) Medicinal herbs, roots, fruits etc.
(4) Spices
(5) Wild animals and their hides and bones.
(6) Grass
(7) Out of the raw materials from forest many finished articles were manufactured.

8. MINES (KHANI OR ĀKARA)

Mines (land and oceanic) constituted another source of the economic wealth of the land. They produced precious stones, metals and other useful minerals required in various types of industries.

(1) Precious stones (Ratna or Maṇi)[2]
  i Marakata or Gārutmata (emerald)
  ii Padmarāga, Śoṇaratna or Lohitaka (ruby)
  iii Mukta or Mauktika (pearl)
  iv Pravāla or Vidruma (coral)
  v Pushparāga (topaz)[3]
  vi Vaidurya (lapis lazuli)[4]
  vii Mahānīla (saphire)[5]
  viii Vajra (diamond)[6]

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[1] The Amarakosha. II. 4.
[2] The Amarakosha. II. 9. 92-93
[3] The Raghu. XVIII. 32
[4] The Kumara, I. 24.
[5] The Raghu. XIII. 54
[6] Ibid. VI 19.

ix. Sphaṭika (crystal)[1]
x. Sūryakānta (sun-glass)[2]
xi. Chandrakānta, (moon-glass)[3]

(2) Metals[4].

i. Suvarṇa, Kanaka or Hiraṇya (gold)
ii. Rajata or Rupya (silver)
iii. Rīti or Ārakūṭa (brass)
iv. Tāmra (copper)
v. Loha or Ayas (iron)
vi. Kācha or Sāra (glass)
vii. Pārada, Rasa or Chapala (mercury)
viii. Abhraka (mica)
ix. Girija (talc or bitumen)
x. Srotoñjana
xi. Tutthāñjana or Mayūraka.
xii. Rasañjana (vitriol of copper, a sort of collyrium)
xiii. Gandhaśman, Gandhika, or Saugandhika.
xiv. Haritāla, (sulphur) Tāla or Piñjara (yellow orpiment)
xv. Śilajatu or Aśmaja (bitumen, red chalk)
xvi. Gandharasa
xvii. Phena
xviii. Sindūra or Nāgasambhava [red lead]
xix. Sīsa, Nāga or Vapra [lead]
xx. Raṅga, Vaṅga or Trapu [borax]
xxi. Manaḥ-śila or Manoguptā (red arsenic)
xxii. Yavakshāra (saltpetre)
xxiii. Sarjikakshāra or Kāpota
xxiv. Sauvarchala
xxv. Vaṁśo-rochanā
xxvi. Pāshāṇa or Prastara (building stone)
xxvii. Salt
  a. Akshiva or Vaśira
  b. Saindhava or sindhiya
  c. Raumaka or Vasuka

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[1] Ibid. XIII. 69
[2] Ibid, XI. 21.
[3] The Megha. II. 13.
[4] The Amarakosha. II. 9. 94-109 ; 41.43.

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d. Pakya or Vida
e. Sauvarchala or Aksha
f. Tilaka

9. DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS AND CATTLE-FARMING.

Widespread occupations allied to agriculture were the domestication of animals and cattle-farming. The people mainly engaged in these occupations were called Gopa, Gopāla, Gosaṅkhya, Goduh, Ābhira and Vallava[1] The main domesticated animals were as follows :[2]

1. Go (cow)
2. Gokula (a herd of cows),
3. Ukshan or Valivarda (bullocks)
4. Vatsaka (calves)
5. Mahisha (baffaloes)
6. Shāṇda or Gopati (bull)
7. Ushṭra (camel)
8. Karabha (young one of a cattle)
9. Ajā or chhāgī (she-goat)
10. Aja or chhāga (he goat)
11. Meḍhra (sheep)
12. Gardabha or Rāsabha (ass)
13. Hasti (elephant)
14. Horses of different types :
    a. Ājaneya (a horse of a good breed)
    b. Vinīta (well-trained)
    c. Vanāyuja (coming from Arabia)
    d. Pārasīka (coming from Persia)
    e. Kāmboja (coming from Afghanistan)
    f. Vāhlika (coming from Balkh)
    g. Yayu (Aśvamedha-horse)
    h. Javana (a swift horse)
    i. Prishṭhya (a horse carrying loads)
    j. Rathya (a horse yoked to a chariot)

Besides the animals mentioned above, there were a large number of wild animals and birds which were not domesticated but through their flesh, skin, bones, furs and feathers they added to the wealth of the country.[1] With the occupations of the domestication of animals and cattle-farming was associated with milk industry. Milk was known as Dugdha, Kshīra or Payas and the articles prepared out of it were collectively called as Payasya.[2] The following milk products were favourite :[3]

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[1] The Amarakosha II. 9. 57. [2] Ibid. II. 9. 58-77.

1. Drapsa (thin curd)
2. Ghṛta or Ājya (ghee or clarified butter)
3. Navanita (butter churned out of curd).
4. Gorasa, Arishṭa, Kālaśesha, or Daṇḍahata (sour milk)
5. Takra (curd mixed with water weighing one fourth of it)
6. Udaśvin (curd mixed with water weighing half of it)
7. Mathita (curd churned without mixing water with it)
8. Maṇḍa or Mastu (water coming out of curd)

10. INDUSTRIES AND PROFESSIONS.

With rich agricultural, forest, mineral and pastoral resources the country was abounding in industrial occupations and there were a large number of handicrafts and professions prevalent. Some of the most important industries and professions were as follows :[4]

1. Textiles. It was one of the most important industries. Sūtra or Tantu (thread) was prepared out of Karpāsa (cotton), Ūrṇa (wool), Kośa (silk) Kshauma (linseed fibres), Tvak (bark) etc. Cloths were woven by people called Tantuvāya or Kuvinda.[5]
2. Tailoring. It was related with weaving. The tailors were known as Tunnavāya or Sauchika.[6]
3. Dyeing. Cloths were dyed with different colours. Dyer was called Raṅgajiva or Chitrakāra.[7]
4. Leather-works. This profession was carried on by Pādukṛt or Charmakāra.
5. Pottery. This was the avocation of Kumbhakāra or Kulāla.[8]

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[1] The Amarakosha. II. 5.
[2] Ibid. II 9. 51
[3] Ibid. II. 9. 51-54.
[4] The Amarkosha II. 10. 5. 46
[5] Ibid, II. 10. 28, II, 10. 6.
[6] Ibid. II. 10. 6.
[7] Ibid II. 10. 7.
[8] The Amarakosha. II. 10. 6

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6. Iron-worker (Lohakāra or Vyokara) or Black Smith[1]
7. Gold-smith (Svarṇakāra)[2]
8. Metal-worker or Utensil-maker (Śaulbika or Tāmra kuṭṭaka)[3]
9. Carpenter (Takshā or Vardhaki)[4]
10. Wine-manufacturer[5] (Śauṇḍika or Maṇḍahāraka).
    Different kinds of wine were manufactured :
    a. Madhu, Madhvāsava or Mādhavaka (prepared out of Madhuka flowers).
    b. Maireya (prepared from guḍa)
    c. Kiṇva (extracted from rice)
11. Gardner (Mālākāra or Mālika)[6]
12. Whitewasher (Lepaka or Palagaṇḍa)
13. Bangle-dealer (Śaṅkhika or Kāmvavika).
14. Barber (Nāpita or Kshuri)
15. Washer-man (Rajaka)
16. Priests (Devājiva or Devala)
17. Magician (Māyāvi or Śāmbarī)
18. Actors (Śailūsha or Naṭa)
19. Bards and sentinels (Chāraṇa or Kuśilava)
20. Instrumental musicians of various kinds.
21. Fowler (Śakunika or Jālika)
22. Butcher (Māṁsika or Vaitansika)
23. Gambler (Kitava or Dyūtakṛt)

Professions were mostly based upon the caste-system. Every caste had its own professions and its members followed their communal professions. Handicrafts-men or artisans were collectively called Kāru or Śilpi (worker or one knowing some art). They were organized in guilds known as Sreṇi or Kula, which implies that they had their own rules and regulations governing their organizations. The head of Sreṇī or Kula was called Kulaka or Kulaśreshṭhi.[7]

11. LABOUR.

In industries, other professions and domestic services

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[1] Ibid. II. 10 7 [2] Ibid. II. 10. 8. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. II. 10. 9
[5] Ibid. II. 10. 39 [6] Ibid. II. 10. 5 ff [7] Amarakosha, II. 10. 5.

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labourers were employed.[1] They were classified into two groups—(1) Hirelings and (2) Slaves. The workers belonging to the first group were called (1) Bhritaka (2) Bhritibhuja [wage-earner] (3) Karmakara (worker) and (4) Vaitanika (receiving a salary). Slaves were known by the following names—(1) Bhṛtya (maintained) (2) Dāsera (3) Dāseya (4) Dāsa (5) Gopyaka (protected) (6) Chetaka (servant) (7) Niyojya (employed) (8) Kiṅkara (asking what to do) (9) Praishya (to be sent) and (10) Bhujishya (to be fed). Salaries and wages were variously indicated as (1) Karmaṇya (payable in lieu of work) (2) Vidha (prescribed) (3) Bhṛtya (4) Bhriti (maintenance) (5) Bharman (6) Vetana (salary) (7) Bharaṇa (sustenance) (8) Bharaṇya (9) Mūlya (price) (10) Nirveśa (wages) and (10) Pana (a small coin). Skilled and unskilled labourers were grouped separately. The former were called (1) Daksha (expert) (2) Chatura (skillful) (3) Peshala (expert) (4) Paṭu (skilled) (5) Sutthāna (alert) and (6) Ushṇa (warm). The latter were called (1) Manda (lazy) (2) Tundaparimrija (eater or glutton) (3) Ālasya (indolent) (4) Śitaka (cold) (5) Alasa (slack) and (6) Anushṇa (inert). In contrast with the handicraftsmen and the artisans mentioned above labourers do not seem to be orgainzed in groups or communities. Ordinary labourers earning their wages or salaries were recruited from different sources in the society. How the slaves were procured is not known from contemporary documents. The Manusmṛti[2] which was written a century earlier, referes to the following kinds of slaves, which indicate the sources of procuring slaves :

1. Dhvajāhṛta (captured in war)
2. Bhakta-dāsa (devoted or voluntary)
3. Gṛhaja (born in the family)
4. Krīta (purchased)
5. Datrima (gifted by somebody)
6. Paitrika (ancestral)
7. Daṇḍa-dāsa (punished to slavery)

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[1] Ibid. II. 10. 15 ff.

[2] VIII. 415.

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The salaried and the wage-earners were free men and their labour was voluntary, where as the slaves were dependent upon their masters. The two types of labourers received different treatments at the hands of their employers.

12. TRADE AND COMMERCE.

The rich economic products of the country circulated through various channels and, consequently, trade and commerce (Vāṇijya or Vaṇijyā) were in a high stage of development. The traders were known by various names :[1]

1. Vaidehaka (trader)
2. Sārthvāha (going with a carvan)
3. Naigama (belonging to a corporation)
4. Vāṇija (trading)
5. Vaṇika (merchant)
6. Paṇyājiva (living upon a shop)
7. Apaṇika (possessing shops)
8. Kraya-Vikrayika (purchasing-and-selling)

They had a clear conception [of price (mūlya), capital (mūladhana, Paripana or Nivi], profit (lābha), deposit (upadhi or nyāsa), exchange (paridana, parivarta, naimeya or nimaya) exhibition of articles for sale (krayya), things to be purchased (kreya or kretavya), marketable articles (paṇya or paṇitavya), earnest money (satyāpana satyaṅkāra or satyākṛti) and sale (vipaṇa or vikraya).

A pre-requisite for brisk trade and commerce is a developed system of roadways in a country. During the age of Vikramāditya there were a number of good roads in the country (atipanthā, supanthā, supatha), though in some parts of India the routes were bad (duradhva, vipatha, kāpatha) and some tracts in it were still routeless (apanthā or apatha).[2] Some of the routes passed through distant, lonely and waterless territories (prāntara) and some through dense forest (kantāra). The high-ways for trade and commerce (and also for military purposes) were called ghaṇṭāpatha, saṁsaraṇa, mahāpatha, rājapatha or narendra-mārga. Regarding the main highways of India some indications can be gathered from the following routes described in the works of Kālidāsa[1]

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[1] Amarakosha, II. 9. 78 ff, [2] Ibid. I. 15 ff.

(1) The route of the Digvijaya (world-conquest) of Raghu.[2] It started from Ayodhyā and following the course of the Saryu river it reached the Ganga in Bihar and along it descended into Bengal. From here it converged towards the south and reached Orissa (Mahendra mountain). Then traversing Kalinga, Andhra and Dravida territories touched the extreme south of India. Now the route turned towards the north-west and following the ranges of the western ghats it went up to Sindh. Here it bifurcated into two forms—(1) sea-route along the coast of the western sea (Arabian sea) and (2) land-route which passed through southern Baluchistan and touching the border of Persia and turned towards north and north-east. Crossing the Hindukush the route went upto Balkh and again turning towards south-east along the plateaux of Pamir entered India through Kāmboja. Next passing through the southern slopes of the Himalayas it reached Kāmarūpa (Assam). This military route of the world-conquest must have been divided into several sections linked with other inland routes which were used for trade and commerce.

(2) The route of Aja's march from Ayodhyā to the country of the Bhojas (Berar).[3] This route starting from Ayodhyā crossed the Ganga near Prayāga (Allahabad) and passing through Vindhya-pradesh and Mahā-kosala (north M. P.) reached Vidarbha (Berar).

(3) The route of the Cloud-Messenger.[4] This route started from Ramagiri (Ramtek) and passing through

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[1] Kumara-sambhava, VII 3 ; Raghu. XIV. 30 ; Raghu. IV. 67 ; Malavika I. 17 ; V 10.

[2] Raghu. IV.

[3] Raghuvamsa. V.

[4] Meghaduta,

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M.P. and Vindhya-pradesh reached Chitrakūṭa in the Banda district of the Uttar Pradesh. From here Kālidāsa directed the messenger to visit Ujjayinī, which indicates that there was a route linking Chitrakūṭa and Ujjayinī. From Ujjayinī the messenger took a direct route across Rajputana, Western U.P. and the Himalayas to Alakā supposed to be situated near the Kailāsa mountain.

Besides those incidently described by Kālidāsa there must have been many other routes connecting different centres of trade and military stations.

The existence of sea-routes connecting India with western countries of Asia, islands in the Indian Ocean and the south-eastern countries of Asia in the time of Vikramāditya is proved by a number of evidences.[1] One Sea-route ran along the coast of the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean sea, joining the western sea-ports of India with Persia, Arabia, Syria, Greece and Rome. During the course of his world-conquest, Raghu, reaching Sindhu, selected land-route (Sthala-Vartma) for his further march towards Persia, which shows that there was a sea-route too.[2] Raghu encountered a fleet in Bengal.[3] This fact strongly suggests that the people of Bengal also possessed sea-faring boats for commercial purposes. In the Abhijñana- Śakuntala there is a reference to a rich merchant who was engaged in sea-borne trade and involved in a ship-wreck.[4] The frequent mention of Chināṁśuka (China silk) indicates that between China and India there was a sea-link.[5]

Inland Trade.

Inter-provincial trade was in a flourishing condition in the first century B. C. and the products of the one province were carried to other provinces for sale. Blankets and medicinal herbs of the Himalayan regions, the agricultural and textiles products of northern Indian plains, the mineral and

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[1] Raghu. IV. 36, I 2 ; VI, 57. Sak. p. 219.
[2] Raghu IV. 60.
[3] Ibid. IV. 36,
[4] समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाह.....नौव्यसने विपन्नः ।
[5] Kumara, VII ; Shak, 1. 30.

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forest yields of the Vindhyan ranges, the precious stones and minerals of the Deccan, valuable gold and delicious spices of the south, elephants from Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa, horses from Sindhu and Kamboja, pearls and corals from the extreme south-east of India were welcomed in inter-provincial markets and the traders were always on move for profitable-trading. In the north-western frontiers of India trade-routes were not very safe on account of foreign inroads of the Parthians and the Śakas, but in the rest of India the road-ways were quite secure.' Caravans wandered at ease over mountains as if their own houses, over rives as if over wells and over forests as though over gardens."[1]

Foreign Trade.

India imported many articles from outside. We know from the Amarakosha[1] that the horses of good breed were imported from Arabia (Vanāyu) and Persia. China-silk was imported from China[2]; spices and sweat-smelling insence from islands in the Indian oceans. The Periplus of the Erythrean sea[3], a work slightly later than the age of Vikramāditya, throws sufficient light on imports from western countries to India. According to it the following articles were imported : minerals like copper, tin, lead ; topaz, coral, flint glass, gold and silver coins, costly silver vessels, ointments, sweet cloves, wines of good quality ; coloured girdles, fine clothes, printed linens ; song-boys and handsome maidens for service in the inner apartments of kings etc.

Exports from India were varied and many. To quote the authority of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea[4] again the following articles were exported from India to the western

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1. Raghu. XVII. 64.
2. Amarakosha. II. 8. 45.
3. Kumara. VII. 3 ; Sak. I. 30
4. Trans. by Schoff pp. 287-288. It is corroborated by Pliny and many other writers.
5. Ibid.

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countries of Asia, Europe and Africa : ivory, agate, carnelian, lycium; cotton cloth of different varieties, silk cloth, mallow-cloth, yarn, spices, fine pearls in great quantity, precious stones, as diamond, supphires ; tortoise-shells ; malabathrum (from Himalayan regions of India).

Sea-borne foreign trade of India was, naturally, more developed in the Deccan and the south than in the north. "Of the great extent of Dravidian Commerce in the centuries immediately before and after the christian era....there is abundant evidence in Tamil literature, in the writings of the Greek and the Roman historians and in the quantity of the Roman coins discovered in South India which was then in close contact with Hellenic world both by land and sea. The Yavanas or Greek merchants thronged the bazars of Dravidian sea-ports and royal capitals to purchase pepper, precious stones, fine silk and cotton fabrics."[1]

13. BANKING AND USURY.[2]

Various guilds formed by different trades and professions (Nigama, Śreṇi, Pūga and Saṁgha) served as banks in the age of Vikramāditya. They accepted the following types of deposits :

1. Nikshepa 2. Nyāsa 3. Nīvī

Guilds as well as wealthy individuals loaned out money on interest. The creditor was called Uttamarṇa and the debtor Adhamarṇa. Interest on loan was termed as Kusida or Vriddhi. Those who lived upon usury were known as Kusīdaka, Vārdhushika, Vṛdhyājīva or Vārdhushi. Debts in general were called as Riṇa, Paryudañchana or Uddhāra. The rate of interest is not known from the contemporary literature. The profession of usury was not held in esteem as it was regarded 'a mixture of truth and falsehood'.[3] But the development of trade and commerce and the existence of guilds show that the institutions of Banking and Usury had come to stay.

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[1] E. B. Havell : The History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 180

[2] Amarakosha, II. 9. 78ff ; II. 9. 3 ff

[3] सत्यानृतम् । Ibid.

14. EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

The conception of exchange was developed and it was called 'Paridāna', 'Parivarta', 'Naimeya' and 'Nimaya', all meaning conversion of one kind of wealth into another kind of wealth.[1] With the growth of complexities in the economic life of the people exchange was becoming more frequent, standardised and refined. In local and minor transactions barter system prevailed in rural areas, but the existence of brisk trade and commerce, both inland and foreign, necessitated the use of coins.[2] The Amarakosha mentions two types of coins—(1) Karshapaṇa (a silver coin weighing one Kārsha) and (2) Paṇa, a copper coin of the same weight. The works of Kālidāsa refer to Suvarṇa and Nishka also as coins[3]. Suvarṇa was a gold-coin. Nishka was both an ornament worn round the neck and a coin, weighing one hundred and eight Kārshas. Dinar a foreign (Roman) Coin which beeame common during the Kushaṇa and the Gupta periods of Indian history is not mentioned in the Amarakosha and the works of Kālidāsa.

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[1] Amarakosha, II. 9. 80.

[2] Ibid, II. 9. 88.

[3] Malavika, p. 88 ; Kumara. II. 49.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION

1. THE LAST DAYS OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

During the closing days of his life, Vikramāditya came into conflict with the rising power of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas of Pratishṭhāna. The history of this conflict is embedded in some of the stories[1] associated with him. Below is quoted the relevent portion of one of such stories :

"In Vikramāditya's kingdom there was a city named Purandarapurī. Here dwelt a certain rich merchant, who had four sons. In the course of a long time this merchant, having grown old, fell sick ; and at the time of his death, he called his four sons and said : "My sons, after I am dead, whether you live in the same place or not, in time there will arise a quarrel among you. Therefore, before my death, I have made a division of property among you four, in order of age. Right here under the four feet of my bed I have buried the four portions; take them in order, from the oldest to the youngest." And they agreed to this. Now when the father had departed from this life, the four brothers lived in harmony for a month. But then a quarrel arose among their wives. And thereupon they reflected: "Why this quarrel ? While our father was still alive he made an allotment for us four: so we will take the allotted property as placed under his bed, and actually getting our parts we shall live in peace. So digging under the bed, they brought forth from under its four feet four copper vessels. Of these there was earth in one vessel, coals in one, bones in one, and straw in one. Seeing these four things, the four brothers were greatly perplexed and said to one another: "Well our father has indeed made a complete division! But this way of making it—who can understand?" Thus speaking they went into the council and told the story there, but the councillors could not understand the way of dividing it. After this the four brothers went to all the cities in which experts were found, and told that matter to them, but even they could not solve it. Once they came to Ujjayinī, and went into the king's council, and told of the matter of the allotment before the king and the council, but the king and the council did not understand the way of allotment. After this they came finally to the city of Pratishṭhāna, and told the nobles of that place; but they also did not know the solution. At this time Śālivāhana was there in the house of a potter. And hearing the matter he came forward and said to the nobles: "Good sirs, what mystery is here, and what marvel? How is it that you do not know the method of this allotment?" They said: "Young man, to us it is a marvel and a mystery; if you know how, tell us the method of the allotment." Śālivāhana said: "These four are the sons of one rich man. While their father was still alive he made an allotment for them in order from the oldest to the youngest, in the following way. To the oldest he gave earth: that means that he gave him all the land which he possessed. To the next he gave straw: that is, he gave him all the grain he had. To the third he gave bones: that is, he gave him all the cattle that he had. To the fourth he gave coal: that is, he gave him all the gold that he had." Thus the problem of their allotment was solved by Śālivāhana, and they went to their own city content.

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[1] The Prabandha-Kosha, No. 15. Satavahana-prabandha; The Vikrama-charita (Southern Recension), Story No. 24.

But when king Vikrama heard how this allotment was solved, he was astonished, and sent a letter to the city of Pratishṭhāna, saying: "Greetings to the noble folk dwelling in the city of Pratishṭhāna, who are devoted to the six sacred duties of sacrificing and conducting of sacrifice (for others) studying and teaching, giving and receiving gifts and who are intent on all the virtues including the abstentions and observances (of Yoga?), king Vikrama asks after

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your health, and says: let the person in your town who solved the problem of the allotment of those four (brothers) be sent into my presence." And when the nobles had read the letter which the king sent, they called Śālivāhana and said: "Śālivāhana, the supreme emperor of emperors, whose feet are worshipped by all his rival kings, Vikrama, king in Ujjayinī, who is a tree of wishes to all suppliants summons you. Go to him." Said he: "what sort of a king is Vikrama? I will not go at his summons. If he has any business with me, let him come himself; I have no business with him." Hearing his words the nobles sent back a letter to the king, saying: "He will not go." And when the king heard the purport of what was written in the letter, his body was aflame with the fire of anger, and he went forth attended by his eighteen-fold complete army, and came to the city of Pratishṭhāna, and beleagured it. And he sent messengers to Śālivāhana who came to Śālivāhana and said: "O Śālivāhana, king Vikrama, the overlord of all kings, summons you; so come and see him." And Śālivāhana said: Messengers, I will not see the king alone; surrounded by a complete army of the four parts; on the field of battle will I see Vikrama. Let your honours tell the king this." Hearing these words the messengers repeated them even thus to the hing. When he heard this, king Vikrama came forth to the battlefield to fight. × × Śālivāhana × × × with his fourfold army × × went out of the city and came to the fiield of battle.

× × ×

Thus a terrible battle took place, and Vikramārka destroyed the army of Śālivāhana. And Śālivāhana was much dejected; but remembering the boon given to him by his father, saying: "In time of distress call upon me, he called to mind his father, the serpent-prince Śesha. Śesha sent forth all his serpents, which stung the whole army of Vikramāditya, so that they were completely paralysed and fell upon the battlefield. Thereupon king Vikrama returned alone to his city..."

The above story shorn of its legendary elements yields the following historical facts:

i. Vikramāditya was a contemporary of one of the Sālivāhanas (Andhra-Sātavāhanas) of Pratishṭhana.

ii. The rising power of the Āndhra Sātavāhanas excited the jealousy of Vikramāditya, who tried to establish his supremacy over them through reconciliation and, that failing, through arms.

iii. The Āndhra-Sātavāhanas proved superior to Vikramāditya in diplomacy and war at least during the closing years of Vikramāditya, who returned defeated and disappointed from Pratishṭhāna to Ujjayinī.

Now the question is: Who was this Śālivāhana? According to the Jain Paṭṭāvalis Vikramāditya ruled for sixty years from 57 B. C. to 3 A. D. : So Śālivāhana (=Sātavahana) should be placed in the beginning of the first century A.D.. The imperial Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty started from 28 B.C. (the date marking the end of the Kāṇvas). By working out the chronology of the first three Sātavāhana kings we find the following dates:

Simuka's accession to power	28 B. C.
Simuka's reign-period	23 years
Kṛshṇa's ,,	10 years
Sātakarṇi's accession to the throne	5 A. D.

In the first and the second years of the first century of the Christian era Sātakarṇi was still a prince, who could have compared his arms with Vikramāditya during the closing years of his life. Vikramāditya died shortly afterwards. From chronological and other circumstancial evidences we arrive at the conclusion that the junior contemporary and rival of Vikramāditya was Sātakarṇi, the third ruler of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty, who represented the rising imperial power in the Deccan, overshadowing the strength of Vikramāditya in Avanti.[1] Once more in Indian history the fact was demonstrated that the tiny republican states howsoever they may be devoted to freedom and often successful against barbarian hordes, they were no match to an organized big imperial force. The same thing happened in north-eastern India a few centuries earlier when the republics of that area succumbed to the rising power of Magadha.

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[1] According to the Satavahana inscriptions found in the Western Ghats Satakarni performed Asvamedha sacrifice indicative of his imperial power. A sanchi inscription bearing 'Rajan Sri Satakarni' suggests his political influence in Central India. But for a slight chronological inaccuracy the rival of Vikramaditya may be identical with the first Satavahana, whose coin has been recently discovered. J. N. S. 3, Vol. VII, 1945.

2. THE MAIN FEATURES OF VIKRAMA'S LIFE.

Vikramāditya had a versatile personality and he distinguished himself in various fields of life. His achievements in politics were great. In patronage to art and literature he had very few equals in Indian history. His personal accomplishments were high and many. In generosity, courage, devotion to duty, insight in human affairs and many other vitues of head and heart Vikramāditya was an ideal to be adored and followed. In the following lines some important features of his life are brought out :

(1) Central Figure in Indian history.

The secret of Vikrama's popularity in Indian tradition and history is that he figures on the main currents of Indian history, which attracted the attention of the people and impressed their minds deeply. The popular mind through the process of natural selection, does not overload itself with the memory of unnecessary minor events, taking place in the side-waters of life ; it readily grasps and retains the central currents of history of lasting interest. Vikramāditya played his part in the central scenes of the political and cultural drama of his time and left his foot-prints on them, which have survived the last more than two thousand years.

(2) A Military and Political Hero.

One of the main problems of Indian history from the beginning of the Greek invasion in the fourth century B.C. upto modern times has been the invasion of the country from outside and the reaction of the Indians towards it. It is an established fact of history that foreigners invariably had to face a strong resistance in India which never submitted to the politics, the religion and the culture of the invaders, though it imbibed what was the best in them. The invaders

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forced into this country through either of the two passes—(1) the Khyber Pass and (2) the Bolan Pass, both situated in the North-Western Frontiers. Therefore, geographically there were two centres of resistance formed in order to oppose the invaders. The first centre faced the Khyber Pass and comprised the area covered by the North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab and the North-East of Rajputana. The second centre faced the Bolan Pass and comprised the whole of Sindh, Saurāshṭra, Avanti (Western Malwa) and South-Western Rajputana. In the fourth century B.C. the Greeks, under the leadership of Alexander, invaded India through the Khyber Pass and were opposed in the first centre of resistance. The monarchical states of North-Western India offered to the Greeks a mixed reception. The majority of them put forth heroic resistance against the Greeks ; but a few of them preferred to help the foreigners against their own country-men. So far as republics in that centre were concerned, they always offered, single or united, the most stubborn resistance to the intruders. In the list of republics, which were deadly against the invaders, the Mālavas occupy very prominent position. The Mālavas could not defeat the Greeks and their efforts were tragic, as a large number of them were killed by the angry Greeks after Alexander was dangerously wounded in the battle with the Mālavas. This tragedy, however, heightened the sentiment of the Mālavas for liberty. In the second century B.C. they were pressed by the Indo-Bactrians, they, together with the other freedom-loving republicon peoples of the Punjab, moved towards the south and established their new homes in southern Rajputana and Malwa. At the fall of the imperialist Śuṅgas, the republican peoples formed a strong chain encircling the whole of Rajasthana. The Mālavas were then occupying western Malawa. It was here that Vikramāditya was born in the family of a republican chief among the Mālavas.

In the first century B. C. a more formidable and far-reaching invasion than those under the Greeks and the Indo-Bactrian took under the barbarian Śakas through the Bolan

Pass. It were the Mālavas again, who bore the brunt of the foreign invasion, though they were helped by a confederacy of republics and other neighbouring states, which was organized under the able leadership of Vikramāditya. This time fortune smiled upon the Mālavas. Their leader Vikramāditya hurled the invaders back and scored a brilliant success. The effective opposition offered to the Śakas and the signal victory won over them were events of revolutionary nature. Popular imagination was deeply impressed by them. The military qualities and the political sagacity of Vikramāditya distinguished him in the eyes of the people, the tradition of which is still fresh in their memory. The great achievement of Vikramāditya was immortalised by the foundation of the Vikrama Era, which was originally called as Kṛta Era, symbolising the inauguration of a golden age.

(3) An Ideal Administrator.

Another factor responsible for the greatness of Vikramāditya in Indian history was his idealism in administration. He was inspired by the ideal of service to humanity in general and to his people in particular and his administration was deeply saturated with this ideal. According to the Jain sources 'Rāma-rājya', a symbol of perfect administrative system, was the model before him, and he tried to be a 'New Rāma (Abhinava-Rama). This ideal stood for 'loka-rañjana' (keeping the people satisfied), 'prajā-pālana'(maintenance of the people) and 'prajā-rakshaṇa' (protection of the people). This required constant exertion and vigilence on the part of the ruler. Vikramāditya fully realised that his office specially under republican constitution did not admit of any repose.[1] The administrative idealism of Vikramāditya is reflected in the following picture of Dushyanta drawn by Kālidāsa.

> "Indifferent to personal happiness, you still always worry about the welfare of the people. This is the position and the way of every ruler. The tree, while experiencing the scorching heat of the sun through its head, removes the

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[1] अविश्रामोऽयं लोकतंत्राधिकारः । Shak. V.

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heat, of those who seek shelter under it."[1]

The Kathāsaritsāgara paints the idealism of Vikramāditya in the following words :

> "He was the father of the fatherless, the friend of the friendless, the protector of the destitute and what not of his people ?"[2]

The possession of abundant virtues pleasing to the people (loka-kāntāḥ guṇāḥ, Raghu. XVIII-49) by Vikramāditya made him a popular figure in the history of the land.

(4) A Patron of Art and Culture.

Vikramāditya's contribution towards the promotion of art and culture in the country was very high. In Indian tradition no other ruler can equal Vikramāditya in this respect. He himself was a great erudite, 'an ocean of learning,' and honoured the men of letters belonging to his age. His generous patronage was always open to the votaries of art and culture. Even before Vikramāditya Ujjayinī was a great centre of learning, but under him it became a synonim for culture. The choicest poets, dramatists, philosophers, astronomers, scientists and artists flocked to Ujjayini. The brightest literary genius of the age, Kālidāsa, headed the galaxy of the literateurs and the artists, who adorned the court of Vikramāditya. The cultural centre at Ujjayinī radiated its influence to the remotest villages in Avanti, the elders wherein became conversent with the literary traditions of the country.[3]

(5) A manisided and Rare Personality.

The personality of Vikramāditya was manisided and unique in several ways. It was a rare combination of political, cultural and humanitarian achievements. It was this blending of various powerful streams of life in Vikramāditya which distinguished him in the long series of Indian

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1. स्वसुखनिरभिलाषः खिद्यसे लोकहेतोः प्रतिदिनमथवा ते वृत्तिरेवं विधैव।
अनुभवति हि मूर्द्धना पादपस्तीव्रमुष्णं, शमयति परितापं छायया संश्रितानाम्॥ Shak. V

2. स पिता पितृहीनानामबन्धूनां स बान्धवः।
अनाथानांञ्च नाथः सः प्रजानां कः स नाभवत्॥ XVIII. 1. 66.

3. प्राप्यावन्तीमुदयनकथाकोविद ग्रामवृद्धान्। Megh, I, 30.

rulers. In the estimation of the people he is second only to the heroes of the Great Epics, Rama and Krishṇa. Many other rulers of India like Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Pushyamitra, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī, Kanishka, Samudragupta, Chandragupta, II Vikramāditya, Harshavardhana etc. are the possessions of the historians only. The Indian masses have almost forgotten them. But they have fondly cherished and preserved the memory of Vikramāditya even to-day. He is regarded peerless in the galaxy of the great men of the country:

> "By Vikramāditya, the enjoyer of the earth, was done what was not done by anybody else; by him was given away what was not given by others, and he accomplished what was not possible of accomplishment by others."[1]

(6) Vikramāditya as an Ideal.

Vikramāditya was a concrete historical personality but on account of his rare virtues and achievements he developed, in course of time, into an ideal to be followed. In the beginning Vikramāditya was a personal name; later on it became a viruda (epithet or title). Any Indian ruler who succeeded in defeating foreign invaders, in orgarizing an efficient and benevolent system of administration and in promoting art and culture, assumed the title of Vikramāditya 'the sun of valour' and thereby paid a tribute of homage and respect to the memory of great Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. There is a long list of kings in India, who adopted the title of Vikramāditya.' The first king to do so was Samudragupta who frightened the Sahanuśahi-Śaka-Muruṇḍas into subordinate alliance. He was followed in this tradition by Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, Vikrama VI Chalukya and Vikrama Chola. The tradition of adopting the title of Vikramāditya continued up to Hemachandra Vikramāditya (Hemu of the Muslim writers) who opposed the Mughal forces in the second battle of Panipat in 1555 and met a tragic, but heroic, death.

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[1] यत्कृतं यन्न केनापि यद्दत्तं यन्न केनचित् । यत्साधितमसाध्यं च विक्रमार्केण भूभुजा ॥

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Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, M. A., D. Litt. Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, deserves congratulation on his publication. The present work follows his earlier essay on the subject which had won him the first All India Vikrama Prize instituted by the Janmabhumi, Bombay.

The merit of Dr. Pandey's work...brings together all available arguments and facts bearing on a subject on which acute controversy still rages, so that the controversy may be solved and settled in the light of all these considered both individually and in their collective effect. In dealing with controversies, what counts most is not the conclusion but the manner, the scientific method, and the unbiased and critical judgment by which the evidence is assessed and appraised. The matter of its presentation is not less important than the manner presented. Students of the subject will be grateful to Dr. Pandey for helping them to truth through a maze of conflicting facts and tradition.

SHATADAL PRAKASHAN.